

Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, November 21, 2005  
Volume 41—Number 46  
Pages 1701–1743

## Contents

### Addresses and Remarks

*See also* Meetings With Foreign Leaders  
Alaska, war on terror in Anchorage—1713  
Jordanian Embassy, remarks after signing the  
book of condolence—1701  
Japan, remarks in Kyoto—1724  
National Endowment for the Arts and the  
National Endowment for the Humanities,  
dinner celebrating the 40th anniversary—  
1703  
Pennsylvania, war on terror in Tobyhanna—  
1704  
Radio address—1712

### Bill Signings

Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and  
Drug Administration, and Related Agencies  
Appropriations Act, 2006, statement—1701  
Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and  
Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2006,  
statement—1718

### Communications to Congress

Bahrain-U.S. free trade agreement, message  
transmitting proposed legislation—1730  
Multi-chip integrated circuits, message giving  
notification of intent to enter an agreement  
on tariff treatment—1719  
Sweden-U.S. Taxation Convention, message  
transmitting protocol—1702

### Communications to Federal Agencies

Determinations Under Section 1106(a) of the  
Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of  
1988—Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,  
memorandum—1702

### Interviews With the News Media

News conferences  
November 16 with Prime Minister Koizumi  
of Japan in Kyoto, Japan—1720  
November 17 with President Roh of South  
Korea in Gyeongju, South Korea—1730

(Continued on the inside of the back cover.)

**Editor's Note:** The President was in Busan, South Korea, on November 18, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for \$80.00 per year (\$137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for \$93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is \$3.00 (\$3.75 for foreign mailing).

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is also available on the Internet on the GPO Access service at <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/wcomp/index.html>.

There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

## Contents—Continued

### **Joint Statements**

- Joint Declaration on the ROK-U.S. Alliance and Peace on the Korean Peninsula—1735
- Joint Vision Statement on the ASEAN-U.S. Enhanced Partnership—1737

### **Meetings With Foreign Leaders**

- Japan, Prime Minister Koizumi—1720
- Russia, President Putin—1739
- South Korea, President Roh—1730

### **Proclamations**

- America Recycles Day—1720
- National Farm-City Week—1719

### **Statements by the President**

- See also* Bill Signings
- Agriculture appropriations bill—1701
- Doha Development Agenda—1718
- House of Representatives action on legislation to reduce federal spending—1740

### **Supplementary Materials**

- Acts approved by the President—1743
- Checklist of White House press releases—1742
- Digest of other White House announcements—1740
- Nominations submitted to the Senate—1741



**US GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE**  
SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS  
Washington DC 20402

\_\_\_\_\_  
**OFFICIAL BUSINESS**  
Penalty for private use, \$300

**PRESORTED STANDARD**  
POSTAGE & FEES PAID  
GPO  
PERMIT NO. G-26

Week Ending Friday, November 18, 2005

**Remarks After Signing the Book of  
Condolence at the Jordanian  
Embassy**

*November 10, 2005*

Mr. Ambassador, thank you for receiving us. We have come to your Embassy to express our heartfelt sympathies for the people of Jordan and for the families who are grieving today because of the murder of innocent people.

I spoke to His Majesty this morning and conveyed these very same thoughts. And during my conversation, as he described the fact that these bombers went into a wedding and killed people there that were there to celebrate life, killed innocent—the bombers killed innocent women and children, it struck me, Mr. Ambassador, that—once again, that we face an enemy that has no heart, an enemy that is defiling a great religion, of Islam. Today—yesterday in Jordan, Muslims died at the hands of these killers simply because they were in the wrong hotel, simply because they wanted to be with their families and enjoy life.

This enemy must be defeated. They have no heart. They have no conscience.

I want to thank you and the good people of Jordan for standing strong against these merciless killers. And we ask for God's blessings on the people of Jordan.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:27 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Ambassador Karim Tawfiq Kawar and King Abdullah II of Jordan. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Statement on the Agriculture  
Appropriations Bill**

*November 10, 2005*

The agriculture appropriations bill meets important priorities and holds spending below last year's level. This legislation is an

important step forward in our efforts to rein in spending while maintaining our commitment to America's farmers and consumers. By pursuing progrowth economic policies and restraining spending, we can stay on track to meet my goal of cutting the deficit in half by 2009.

NOTE: The statement referred to H.R. 2744. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Statement on Signing the  
Agriculture, Rural Development,  
Food and Drug Administration, and  
Related Agencies Appropriations  
Act, 2006**

*November 10, 2005*

Today, I have signed into law H.R. 2744, the "Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2006." The Act funds important agriculture, food safety, natural resource and other programs of the Federal Government.

The executive branch shall construe certain provisions of the Act that purport to require congressional committee approval for the execution of a law as calling solely for notification, as any other construction would be inconsistent with the principles enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States in *INS v. Chadha*. These provisions include sections 705, 716, and 732, and language under the heading "Food and Drug Administration, Salaries and Expenses."

The executive branch shall construe section 715, which purports to regulate the transmission of information by employees at the Department of Agriculture, in a manner consistent with the President's constitutional authority to faithfully execute the laws and to supervise the unitary executive branch.

The executive branch shall construe section 719, which purports to regulate the

transmittal of legislative recommendations by executive branch officials to the Congress, in a manner consistent with the President's constitutional authority to recommend such measures to the Congress as he deems necessary and expedient.

Several provisions of the bill relate to race or ethnicity. The executive branch shall construe such provisions in a manner consistent with the requirement that the Federal Government afford equal protection of the laws under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

**George W. Bush**

The White House,  
November 10, 2005.

NOTE: H.R. 2744, approved November 10, was assigned Public Law No. 109-97. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Memorandum on Determinations  
Under Section 1106(a) of the  
Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness  
Act of 1988—Kingdom of Saudi  
Arabia**

*November 10, 2005*

*Memorandum for the United States Trade  
Representative*

*Subject:* Determinations under Section 1106(a) of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988—Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Saudi Arabia) is seeking to become a Member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Saudi Arabia has concluded a bilateral agreement with the United States related to Saudi Arabia's accession to the WTO. Saudi Arabia's commitments under this bilateral agreement with the United States ensure: (1) that all state trading enterprises, as defined in section 1107(6) of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 (the "Act") (19 U.S.C. 2906(6)), will make (a) purchases that are not for government use and (b) sales in international trade, in accordance with commercial considerations, including price, quality, availability, marketability, and transpor-

tation, and (2) that such state trading enterprises will afford U.S. business firms adequate opportunity, in accordance with customary practice, to compete for such purchases and sales.

In accordance with section 1106(a)(1) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2905(a)(1)), I determine that state trading enterprises account for a significant share of the exports of Saudi Arabia and the goods that compete with imports into Saudi Arabia. Further, I determine that, based on the bilateral agreement that Saudi Arabia has entered into with the United States, information provided and commitments set forth in the Report of the Working Party on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's Accession to the WTO, and other information considered in connection with Saudi Arabia's WTO accession negotiations including information in the United States National Energy Policy report, an affirmative determination under section 1106(a)(2) is not warranted.

The determinations under section 1106(a) are intended solely to further the purpose of section 1106 and are not determinative for the purpose of any other statute or regulation.

You are directed to publish this memorandum in the *Federal Register*.

**George W. Bush**

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting  
Protocol Amending the Sweden-  
United States Taxation Convention**

*November 10, 2005*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, a Protocol Amending the Convention Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Sweden for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income signed at Washington on September 30, 2005 (the "Protocol"). Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Protocol.

The Protocol eliminates the withholding tax on certain cross-border dividend payments. The proposed Protocol is one of a few recent U.S. tax agreements to provide for the elimination of the withholding tax on dividends arising from certain direct investments. In addition, the Protocol also modernizes the Convention to bring it into closer conformity with current U.S. tax-treaty policy, including strengthening the treaty's provisions preventing so-called treaty shopping.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Protocol and that the Senate give its advice and consent to ratification.

**George W. Bush**

The White House,  
November 10, 2005.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Remarks at a Dinner Celebrating the  
40th Anniversary of the National  
Endowment for the Arts and the  
National Endowment for the  
Humanities**

*November 10, 2005*

Good evening, and welcome. Laura and I are really happy you're here. We meet tonight to celebrate the 40th anniversary of both the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

We especially welcome NEA Chairman Dana Gioia and NEH Chairman Bruce Cole. And we'd like to recognize their outstanding contributions to our Nation's arts and humanities. Dana and Bruce are both distinguished scholars and authors, and under their visionary leadership, America's programs to support the arts and humanities have continued to enrich our Nation's cultural and civic life.

I also want to recognize a former head of the NEH, Lynne Cheney, and her husband. *[Laughter]*

It's also my honor to welcome Lynda Robb, whose dad had the wisdom to start both these programs. Welcome.

Over the last 40 years, the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have strengthened our democracy by supporting our Nation's ideals, institutions, and emerging talents. The NEA has provided support for music and dance, theater, and the arts across our great country. It has helped improve public access to education in the arts, offered workshops in writing, and brought artistic masterpieces to under-served communities.

At the same time, the NEH has done important work to preserve America's cultural treasures. And it has helped introduce millions of Americans to award-winning books, documentaries, and museum exhibitions.

These two institutions also help support the arts and humanities by encouraging great talent. This morning I awarded the National Medal of Arts and the National Humanities Medal to men and women who have made exemplary contributions to our Nation's art, culture, and scholarship. Each medal winner has helped define our era. Each has excelled and demonstrated originality, endurance, and self-discipline. And together, their creativity inspires our students and elevates our culture and enriches our nation. Congratulations to you all.

President Franklin Roosevelt once said that free nations gain new responsibilities when other countries try to turn back the clock of civilization by burning libraries and exiling their artists and thinkers. Free nations, he said, have an obligation to keep the torch of free thought and free learning burning bright.

America is a country where the light of freedom does burn bright, and by supporting our artists and scholars, we help inspire those who do not yet enjoy freedom. We defend creativity and expression because we value a free and open society. And our actions set an example for the entire world. And so, tonight I offer a toast to the brightest lights of American creativity, men and women who entertain us, inform us, and inspire us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:44 p.m. on the State Floor at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Lynda Johnson Robb, daughter of former President Lyndon B. Johnson. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.



## **Remarks on the War on Terror in Tobyhanna, Pennsylvania**

*November 11, 2005*

Thank you all very much. Thank you all for coming. Please be seated. Thanks for the warm welcome. I'm glad to be back in Pennsylvania, and I'm proud to be the first sitting President to visit Monroe County. I'm especially pleased to see so many military veterans with us today. Those who have risked their lives for our freedom have the respect and gratitude of our Nation on Veterans Day and on every day.

Tobyhanna is a fitting place to commemorate Veterans Day. For the better part of a century, this facility has provided critical services for our Armed Forces. Around the clock and around the world, personnel from here maintain technology that our troops use to take the fight to the enemy. From Afghanistan to Kuwait to Baghdad International Airport, technicians from Tobyhanna are carrying out dangerous missions with bravery and skill. I know you're proud of them, and so is the Commander in Chief.

Tobyhanna is also home to a thriving community of military families. Your support for those who wear the uniform and your support of each other through difficult times brings great pride to our country. The American people stand with our military families.

I want to thank Colonel Ellis for allowing me to come and give you this speech today. Thank you for your service to our country, Colonel Ellis. I want to thank Senator Specter and Congressman Kanjorski and Congressman Sherwood for joining us today. It was good to have them on Air Force One. I appreciate their service to our country. And I want to thank all the State and local officials, and I want to thank all the veterans.

Today our Nation pays tribute to those veterans, 25 million veterans who have worn the uniform of the United States of America. Each of these men and women took an oath to defend America, and they upheld that oath with honor and decency. Through the generations, they have humbled dictators and liberated continents and set a standard of courage and idealism for the entire world. This year, 3.5 million veterans celebrate the 60th anniversary of freedom's great victory

in World War II. A handful of veterans who live among us in 2005 stood in uniform when World War I ended 87 years ago today. These men are more than 100 years old. Many of their lives have touched three different centuries, and they can all know that America will be proud of their service.

On Veterans Day, we also remember the troops who left America's shores but did not live to be thanked as veterans. On this Veterans Day, we honor the courage of those who were lost in our current struggle. We think of the families who lost a loved one; we pray for their comfort. And we remember the men and women in uniform whose fate is still undetermined, our prisoners of war and those missing in action. America must never forget their courage, and we will not stop searching until we have accounted for every soldier and sailor and airman and marine missing in the line of duty.

All of America's veterans have placed the Nation's security before their own lives. Their sacrifice creates a debt that America can never fully repay. Yet, there are certain things that Government can do. My administration remains firmly committed to serving America's veterans.

Since I took office, my administration has increased spending for veterans by \$24 billion, an increase of 53 percent. In the first 4 years as President, we increased spending for veterans more than twice as much as the previous administration did in 8 years, and I want to thank the Members of the Congress and the Senate for joining me in the effort to support our veterans.

We've increased the VA's medical care budget by 51 percent, increased total outpatient visits, increased the number of prescriptions filled, and reduced the backlog of disability claims. We've committed more than \$1.5 billion to modernizing and expanding VA facilities so that veterans can get better care closer to home. We've expanded grants to help homeless veterans in all 50 States and the District of Columbia, because we strongly believe no veteran who served in the blazing heat or bitter cold of foreign lands should have to live without shelter in our own country.

I've joined with the veterans groups to call on Congress to protect the flag of the United

States in the Constitution of the United States. In June, the House of Representatives voted for a constitutional amendment to ban flag desecration. I urge the United States Senate to pass this important amendment.

At this hour, a new generation of Americans is defending our flag and our freedom in the first war of the 21st century. The war came to our shores on September the 11th, 2001. That morning, we saw the destruction that terrorists intend for our Nation. We know that they want to strike again. And our Nation has made a clear choice: We will confront this mortal danger to all humanity; we will not tire or rest until the war on terror is won.

In the 4 years since September the 11th, the evil that reached our shores has reappeared on other days, in other places, in Mombasa and Casablanca and Riyadh and Jakarta and Istanbul and Madrid and Beslan and Taba and Netanya and Baghdad and elsewhere. In the past few months, we have seen a new terror offensive with attacks on London and Sharm el-Sheikh, another deadly strike in Bali, and this week, a series of bombings in Amman, Jordan, that killed dozens of innocent Jordanians and their guests.

All these separate images of destruction and suffering that we see on the news can seem like random, isolated acts of madness—innocent men and women and children who have died simply because they boarded the wrong train or worked in the wrong building or checked into the wrong hotel. Yet, while the killers choose their victims indiscriminately, their attacks serve a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs and goals that are evil but not insane.

Some call this evil Islamic radicalism, others, militant Jihadism, and still others, Islamo-fascism. Whatever it's called, this ideology is very different from the religion of Islam. This form of radicalism exploits Islam to serve a violent, political vision: The establishment, by terrorism, subversion, and insurgency, of a totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom. These extremists distort the idea of jihad into a call for terrorist murder against Christians and Hindus and Jews and against Muslims, themselves, who do not share their radical vision.

Many militants are part of a global, borderless terrorist organization like Al Qaida, which spreads propaganda and provides financing and technical assistance to local extremists and conducts dramatic and brutal operations like the attacks of September the 11th. Other militants are found in regional groups often associated with Al Qaida, paramilitary insurgencies and separatist movements in places like Somalia, the Philippines, Pakistan, Chechnya, Kashmir, and Algeria. Still others spring up in local cells, inspired by Islamic radicalism but not centrally directed. Islamic radicalism is more like a loose network with many branches than an army under a single command. Yet these operatives, fighting on scattered battlefields, share a similar ideology and vision for our world.

We know the vision of the radicals because they have openly stated it in videos and audiotapes and letters and declarations and on web sites.

First, these extremists want to end American and Western influence in the broader Middle East because we stand for democracy and peace and stand in the way of their ambitions. Al Qaida's leader, Usama bin Laden, has called on Muslims to dedicate, quote, "Their resources, their sons, and money to driving the infidels out of our lands." The tactics of Al Qaida and other Islamic extremists have been consistent for a quarter of a century: They hit us, and they expect us to run.

Last month, the world learned of a letter written by Al Qaida's number two man, a guy named Zawahiri. And he wrote this letter to his chief deputy in Iraq, the terrorist Zarqawi. In it, Zawahiri points to the Vietnam war as a model for Al Qaida. This is what he said, "The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam and how they ran and left their agents is noteworthy." The terrorists witnessed a similar response after the attacks of American troops in Beirut in 1983 and Mogadishu in 1993. They believe that America can be made to run again, only this time on a larger scale, with greater consequences.

Secondly, the militant network wants to use the vacuum created by an American retreat to gain control of a country, a base from

which to launch attacks and conduct their war against nonradical Muslim governments. Over the past few decades, radicals have specifically targeted Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and Jordan for potential takeover. They achieved their goal, for a time, in Afghanistan, and now they've set their sights on Iraq. In his recent letter, Zawahiri writes that Al Qaida views Iraq as, quote, "The place of the greatest battle." The terrorists regard Iraq as the central front in their war against humanity. We must recognize Iraq as the central front in our war against the terrorists.

Third, these militants believe that controlling one country will rally the Muslim masses, enabling them to overthrow all moderate governments in the region and establish a radical Islamic empire that spans from Spain to Indonesia. Zawahiri writes that the terrorists, quote, "Must not have their mission end with the expulsion of the Americans from Iraq." He goes on to say: "The jihad requires several incremental goals. Expel the Americans from Iraq; establish an Islamic authority over as much territory as you can to spread its power in Iraq; extend the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq."

With the greater economic and military and political power they seek, the terrorists would be able to advance their stated agenda, to develop weapons of mass destruction, to destroy Israel, to intimidate Europe, to assault the American people, and to blackmail our Government into isolation.

Some might be tempted to dismiss these goals as fanatical or extreme. They are fanatical and extreme, but they should not be dismissed. Our enemy is utterly committed. As Zarqawi has vowed, "We will either achieve victory over the human race, or we will pass to the eternal life." And the civilized world knows very well that other fanatics in history, from Hitler to Stalin to Pol Pot, consumed whole nations in war and genocide before leaving the stage of history. Evil men, obsessed with ambition and unburdened by conscience, must be taken very seriously, and we must stop them before their crimes can multiply.

Defeating the militant network is difficult, because it thrives like a parasite on the suffering and frustration of others. The radicals exploit local conflicts to build a culture of

victimization, in which someone else is always to blame and violence is always the solution. They exploit resentful and disillusioned young men and women, recruiting them through radical mosques, as pawns of terror. And they exploit modern technology to multiply their destructive power. Instead of attending faraway training camps, recruits can now access online training libraries to learn how to build a roadside bomb or fire a rocket-propelled grenade, and this further spreads the threat of violence, even within peaceful democratic societies.

The influence of Islamic radicalism is also magnified by helpers and enablers. They've been sheltered by authoritarian regimes, allies of convenience like Iran and Syria, that share the goal of hurting America and modern Muslim governments, and use terrorist propaganda to blame their own failures on the West, on America, and on the Jews.

This week, the Government of Syria took two disturbing steps. First, it arrested Dr. Kamal Labwani for serving as an advocate for democratic reform. Then President Asad delivered a strident speech that attacked both the Lebanese Government and the integrity of the Mehlis investigation into the assassination of Lebanon's former prime minister. The Government of Syria must do what the international community has demanded, cooperate fully with the Mehlis investigation and stop trying to intimidate and destabilize the Lebanese Government. The Government of Syria must stop exporting violence and start importing democracy.

The radicals depend on front operations, such as corrupted charities, which direct money to terrorist activity. They are strengthened by those who aggressively fund the spread of radical, intolerant versions of Islam into unstable parts of the world. The militants are aided as well by elements of the Arab news media that incite hatred and anti-Semitism, that feed conspiracy theories and speak of a so-called American "war on Islam," with seldom a word about American action to protect Muslims in Afghanistan and Bosnia and Somalia and Kosovo and Kuwait and Iraq or seldom a word about our generous assistance to Muslims recovering from natural disasters in places like Indonesia and Pakistan.

Some have also argued that extremism has been strengthened by our actions in Iraq, claiming that our presence in that country has somehow caused or triggered the rage of radicals. I would remind them that we were not in Iraq on September the 11th, 2001. The hatred of the radicals existed before Iraq was an issue, and it will exist after Iraq is no longer an excuse. The Government of Russia did not support Operation Iraqi Freedom, and yet, the militants killed more than 150 Russian schoolchildren in Beslan.

Over the years, these extremists have used a litany of excuses for violence, the Israeli presence on the West Bank, the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia, the defeat of the Taliban, or the Crusades of 1,000 years ago. In fact, we're not facing a set of grievances that can be soothed and addressed. We're facing a radical ideology with the inalterable objectives to enslave whole nations and intimidate the world. No act of ours invited the rage of killers, and no concession, bribe, or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans for murder. On the contrary, they target nations whose behavior they believe they can change through violence. Against such an enemy, there is only one effective response: We will never back down; we will never give in; we will never accept anything less than complete victory.

The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our new century. Yet in many ways, this fight resembles the struggle against communism in the last century. Like the ideology of communism, Islamic radicalism is elitist, led by a self-appointed vanguard that presumes to speak for the Muslim masses. Bin Laden says his own role is to tell Muslims, quote, "What is good for them and what is not." What this man who grew up in wealth and privilege considers good for poor Muslims is that they become killers and suicide bombers. He assures them that this road—that this is the road to paradise, though he never offers to go along for the ride. [*Laughter*]

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy teaches that innocent individuals can be sacrificed to serve a political vision. And this explains their coldblooded contempt for human life. We have seen it in the murders of Daniel Pearl and Nicholas Berg and Margaret Hassan and so many others. In a court-

room in the Netherlands, the killer of Theo van Gogh turned to the victim's grieving mother and said, "I don't feel your pain because I believe you're an infidel." And in spite of this veneer of religious rhetoric, most of the victims claimed by the militants are fellow Muslims.

Recently, in the town of Huwaydar, Iraq, a terrorist detonated a pickup truck parked along a busy street lined with restaurants and shops, just as residents were gathering to break the daylong fast observed during Ramadan. The explosion killed at least 25 people and wounded 34. When unsuspecting Muslims breaking their Ramadan fast are targeted for death or 25 Iraqi children are killed in a bombing or Iraqi teachers are executed at their school, this is murder, pure and simple, the total rejection of justice and honor and morality and religion.

These militants are not just the enemies of America or the enemies of Iraq, they are the enemies of Islam, and they are the enemies of humanity. And we have seen this kind of shameless cruelty before in the heartless zealotry that led to the gulags, the Cultural Revolution, and the Killing Fields.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy pursues totalitarian aims. Its leaders pretend to be an aggrieved party, representing the powerless against imperial enemies. In truth, they have endless ambitions of imperial domination, and they wish to make everyone powerless, except themselves. Under their rule, they have banned books and desecrated historical monuments and brutalized women. They seek to end dissent in every form, to control every aspect of life, to rule the soul itself. While promising a future of justice and holiness, the terrorists are preparing a future of oppression and misery.

Like the ideology of communism, our new enemy is dismissive of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent. Zarqawi has said that Americans are, quote, "The most cowardly of God's creatures." But let us be clear: It is cowardice that seeks to kill children and the elderly with car bombs and cuts the throat of a bound captive and targets worshipers leaving a mosque. It is courage that liberated

more than 50 million people from tyranny. It is courage that keeps an untiring vigil against the enemies of rising democracies. And it is courage in the cause of freedom that will once again destroy the enemies of freedom.

And Islamic radicalism, like the ideology of communism, contains inherent contradictions that doom it to failure. By fearing freedom, by distrusting human creativity and punishing change and limiting the contributions of half a population, this ideology undermines the very qualities that make human progress possible and human societies successful. The only thing modern about the militants' vision is the weapons they want to use against us. The rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past, a declaration of war on the idea of progress itself. And whatever lies ahead in the war against this ideology, the outcome is not in doubt. Those who despise freedom and progress have condemned themselves to isolation and decline and collapse. Because free peoples believe in the future, free peoples will own the future.

We didn't ask for this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence and with a comprehensive strategy. Defeating a broad and adaptive network requires patience, constant pressure, and strong partners in Europe and in the Middle East and North Africa and Asia and beyond. Working with these partners, we're disrupting militant conspiracies; we're destroying their ability to make war; and we're working to give millions in a troubled region a hopeful alternative to resentment and violence.

First, we're determined to prevent attacks of the terrorist networks before they occur. We are reorganizing our Government to give this Nation a broad and coordinated homeland defense. We're reforming our intelligence agencies for the incredibly difficult task of tracking enemy activity, based on information that often comes in small fragments from widely scattered sources, both here and abroad. And we're acting, along with governments from other countries, to destroy the terrorist networks and incapacitate their leadership.

Together with our partners, we've disrupted a number of serious Al Qaida terrorist plots since September the 11th, including several plots to attack inside the United States. Our coalition against terror has killed or captured nearly all those directly responsible for the September the 11th attacks. We've captured or killed several of bin Laden's most serious deputies: Al Qaida managers and operatives in more than 24 countries; the mastermind of the U.S.S. *Cole* bombing, who was chief of Al Qaida's operations in the Persian Gulf; the mastermind of the bombings in Jakarta and Bali; a senior Zarqawi terrorist planner, who was planning attacks in Turkey; and many of their senior leaders in Saudi Arabia.

Because of this steady progress, the enemy is wounded, but the enemy is still capable of global operations. Our commitment is clear: We will not relent until the organized international terror networks are exposed and broken and their leaders are held to account for their murder.

Second, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and to their terrorist allies who would use them without hesitation. The United States, working with Great Britain and Pakistan and other nations, has exposed and disrupted a major black-market operation in nuclear technology led by A.Q. Khan. Libya has abandoned its chemical and nuclear weapons programs, as well as its long-range ballistic missiles. And in the past year, America and our partners in the Proliferation Security Initiative have stopped more than a dozen shipments of suspect weapons technology, including equipment for Iran's ballistic missile program.

This progress has reduced the danger to free nations, but it has not removed it. Evil men who want to use horrendous weapons against us are working in deadly earnest to gain them. And we're working urgently to keep the weapons of mass murder out of the hands of the fanatics.

Third, we're determined to deny radical groups the support and sanctuary of outlaw regimes. State sponsors like Syria and Iran have a long history of collaboration with terrorists, and they deserve no patience from the victims of terror. The United States

makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor them, because they're equally guilty of murder.

Fourth, we're determined to deny the militants control of any nation which they would use as a home base and a launching pad for terror. This mission has brought new and urgent responsibilities to our Armed Forces. American troops are fighting beside Afghan partners and against remnants of the Taliban and their Al Qaida allies. We're working with President Musharraf to oppose and isolate the militants in Pakistan. We're fighting the regime remnants and terrorists in Iraq. The terrorist goal is to overthrow a rising democracy, claim a strategic country as a haven for terror, destabilize the Middle East, and strike America and other free nations with increasing violence. Our goal is to defeat the terrorists and their allies at the heart of their power, so we will defeat the enemy in Iraq.

Our coalition, along with our Iraqi allies, is moving forward with a comprehensive plan. Our strategy is to clear, hold, and build. We're working to clear areas from terrorist control, to hold those areas securely, and to build lasting, democratic Iraqi institutions through an increasingly inclusive political process. In recent weeks, American and Iraqi troops have conducted several major assaults to clear out enemy fighters in Baghdad and parts of Iraq.

Two weeks ago, in Operation Clean Sweep, Iraq and coalition forces raided 350 houses south of Baghdad, capturing more than 40 of the terrorist killers. Acting on tips from local citizens, our forces have recently launched air strikes against terrorist safe houses in and around the towns of Ubaydi and Husaybah. We brought to justice two key senior Al Qaida terrorist leaders. And in Mosul, coalition forces killed an Al Qaida cell leader named Muslet, who was personally involved in at least three videotaped beheadings. We're on the hunt. We're keeping pressure on the enemy.

And thousands of Iraqi forces have been participating in these operations, and even more Iraqis are joining the fight. Last month, nearly 3,000 Iraqi police officers graduated from 10 weeks of basic training. They'll now take their places along other brave Iraqis who

are taking the fight to the terrorists across their own country. Iraqi police and security forces are helping to clear terrorists from their strongholds, helping to hold onto areas that we've cleared. They're working to prevent the enemy from returning. Iraqi forces are using their local expertise to maintain security and to build political and economic institutions that will help improve the lives of their fellow citizens.

At the same time, Iraqis are making inspiring progress toward building a democracy. Last month, millions of Iraqis turned out to vote, and they approved a new constitution that guarantees fundamental freedoms and lays the foundation for lasting democracy. Many more Sunnis participated in this vote than in January's historic elections, and the level of violence was lower.

Now, Iraqis are gearing up for December 15th elections, when they will go to the polls to choose a government under the new constitution. The new government will serve a 4-year term, and it will represent all Iraqis. Even those who voted against the constitution are now organizing and preparing for the December elections. Multiple Sunni Arab parties have submitted a list of candidates, and several prominent Sunni politicians are running on other slates. With two successful elections completed and a third coming up next month, the Iraqi people are proving their determination to build a democracy united against extremism and violence.

The work ahead involves great risk for Iraqis and for American and coalition forces. We've lost some of our Nation's finest men and women in this war on terror. Each of these men and women left grieving families and left loved ones at home. Each of these patriots left a legacy that will allow generations of fellow Americans to enjoy the blessings of liberty. Each loss of life is heart-breaking. And the best way to honor the sacrifice of our fallen troops is to complete the mission and to lay the foundation of peace for generations to come.

The terrorists are as brutal an enemy as we've ever faced, unconstrained by any notion of our common humanity or by the rules of warfare. No one should underestimate the

difficulties ahead, nor should they overlook the advantages we bring to this fight.

Some observers look at the job ahead and adopt a self-defeating pessimism. It is not justified. With every random bombing, with every funeral of a child, it becomes more clear that the extremists are not patriots or resistance fighters; they're murderers at war with the Iraqi people themselves.

In contrast, the elected leaders of Iraq are proving to be strong and steadfast. By any standard or precedent of history, Iraq has made incredible political progress—from tyranny, to liberation, to national elections, to the ratification of a constitution in the space of 2½ years.

I have said, as Iraqis stand up, Americans will stand down. And with our help, the Iraqi military is gaining new capabilities and new confidence with each passing month. At the time of our Fallujah operations a year ago, there were only a few Iraqi army battalions in combat. Today, there are nearly 90 Iraqi army battalions fighting the terrorists alongside our forces. General David Petraeus says, "Iraqis are in the fight. They're fighting and dying for their country, and they're fighting increasingly well." This progress is not easy, but it is steady. And no fairminded person should ignore, deny, or dismiss the achievements of the Iraqi people.

And our debate at home must also be fair-minded. One of the hallmarks of a free society and what makes our country strong is that our political leaders can discuss their differences openly, even in times of war. When I made the decision to remove Saddam Hussein from power, Congress approved it with strong bipartisan support. I also recognize that some of our fellow citizens and elected officials didn't support the liberation of Iraq. And that is their right, and I respect it. As President and Commander in Chief, I accept the responsibilities and the criticisms and the consequences that come with such a solemn decision.

While it's perfectly legitimate to criticize my decision or the conduct of the war, it is deeply irresponsible to rewrite the history of how that war began. Some Democrats and antiwar critics are now claiming we manipulated the intelligence and misled the American people about why we went to war. These

critics are fully aware that a bipartisan Senate investigation found no evidence of political pressure to change the intelligence community's judgments related to Iraq's weapons programs.

They also know that intelligence agencies from around the world agreed with our assessment of Saddam Hussein. They know the United Nations passed more than a dozen resolutions citing his development and possession of weapons of mass destruction. And many of these critics supported my opponent during the last election, who explained his position to support the resolution in the Congress this way: "When I vote to give the President of the United States the authority to use force, if necessary, to disarm Saddam Hussein, it is because I believe that a deadly arsenal of weapons of mass destruction in his hands is a threat and a grave threat to our security." That's why more than 100 Democrats in the House and the Senate, who had access to the same intelligence, voted to support removing Saddam Hussein from power.

The stakes in the global war on terror are too high and the national interest is too important for politicians to throw out false charges. These baseless attacks send the wrong signal to our troops and to an enemy that is questioning America's will. As our troops fight a ruthless enemy determined to destroy our way of life, they deserve to know that their elected leaders who voted to send them to war continue to stand behind them. Our troops deserve to know that this support will remain firm when the going gets tough. And our troops deserve to know that whatever our differences in Washington, our will is strong, our Nation is united, and we will settle for nothing less than victory.

The fifth element of our strategy in the war on terror is to deny the militants future recruits by replacing hatred and resentment with democracy and hope across the broader Middle East. This is difficult, and it's a long-term project, yet there is no alternative to it. Our future and the future of the region are linked. If the broader Middle East is left to grow in bitterness, if countries remain in misery while radicals stir the resentment of millions, then that part of the world will be a source of endless conflict and mounting danger in our generation and for the next.

If the peoples of that region are permitted to choose their own destiny and advance by their own energy and participation of free men and women, then the extremists will be marginalized, and the flow of violent radicalism to the rest of the world will slow and eventually end. By standing for hope and freedom of others, we make our own freedom more secure.

America is making this stand in practical ways. We're encouraging our friends in the Middle East, including Egypt and Saudi Arabia, to take the path of reform, to strengthen their own societies in the fight against terror by respecting the rights and choices of their own people. We're standing with dissidents and exiles against oppressive regimes, because we know that the dissidents of today will be the democratic leaders of tomorrow. We're making our case through public diplomacy, stating clearly and confidently our belief in self-determination and the rule of law and religious freedom and equal rights for women, beliefs that are right and true in every land and in every culture.

As we do our part to confront radicalism and to protect the United States, we know that a lot of vital work will be done within the Islamic world itself. And the work is beginning. Many Muslim scholars have already publicly condemned terrorism, often citing Chapter 5, Verse 32 of the Koran, which states that killing an innocent human being is like killing all of humanity and saving the life of one person is like saving all humanity. After the attacks of July—on July 7th in London, an imam in the United Arab Emirates declared, "Whoever does such a thing is not a Muslim nor a religious person." The time has come for responsible Islamic leaders to join in denouncing an ideology that exploits Islam for political ends and defiles a noble faith.

Many people of the Muslim faith are proving their commitment at great personal risk. Everywhere we've engaged the fight against extremism, Muslim allies have stood up and joined the fight, becoming partners in this vital cause. Afghan troops are in combat against Taliban remnants. Iraqi soldiers are sacrificing to defeat Al Qaida in their country. These brave citizens know the stakes: The survival of their own liberty, the future

of their own region, the justice and humanity of their own tradition, and the United States of America is proud to stand beside them.

With the rise of a deadly enemy and the unfolding of a global ideological struggle, our time in history will be remembered for new challenges and unprecedented dangers. And yet this fight we have joined is also the current expression of an ancient struggle between those who put their faith in dictators and those who put their faith in the people. Throughout history, tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that murder is justified to serve their grand vision, and they end up alienating decent people across the globe. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that regimented societies are strong and pure, until those societies collapse in corruption and decay. Tyrants and would-be tyrants have always claimed that free men and women are weak and decadent, until the day that free men and women defeat them.

We don't know the course of our own struggle will take or the sacrifices that might lie ahead. We do know, however, that the defense of freedom is worth our sacrifice. We do know the love of freedom is the mightiest force of history, and we do know the cause of freedom will once again prevail.

Thank you for coming. May God bless our veterans. May God bless our troops in harm's way, and may God continue to bless the United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. at the Tobyhanna Army Depot. In his remarks, he referred to Col. Tracy L. Ellis, USA, commander, Tobyhanna Army Depot; Ayman Al-Zawahiri, founder of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and senior Al Qaida associate; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Kamal Labwani, secretary general, Liberal Democratic Union of Syria; President Bashar al-Asad of Syria; Detlev Mehliis, head, United Nations International Independent Investigation Commission into the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri of Lebanon; Mohammed Bouyeri, who was convicted of the murder of Theo van Gogh; Anneke van Gogh, mother of Theo van Gogh; Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, Al Qaida's chief of operations for the Persian Gulf; Nurjaman Riduan Isamuddin (also known as Hambali), Al Qaida's chief operational planner in Southeast Asia; A.Q. Khan, former head of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program; President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan; Nashwan



Mijhim Muslet, senior Al Qaida terrorist cell leader in Mosul, Iraq; Lt. Gen. David H. Petraeus, USA, former commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq; and former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

## **The President's Radio Address**

*November 12, 2004*

Good morning. This coming Tuesday, America's Medicare beneficiaries can begin to enroll for new prescription drug coverage. This new benefit is the greatest advance in health care for seniors and Americans with disabilities since the creation of Medicare 40 years ago.

In the past, Medicare would pay tens of thousands of dollars for ulcer surgery but not a few hundred dollars for prescription drugs that eliminate the cause of most ulcers. In the past, Medicare would pay more than \$100,000 to treat the effects of a stroke but not \$1,000 per year for blood-thinning drugs that could have prevented the stroke in the first place.

With this new prescription drug benefit, Medicare will now help pay for the prescription drugs that can prevent serious illness. Seniors will get more choices and better treatment, and America will get a Medicare system to fit the needs of the 21st century.

The new coverage will begin on January 1st. If you or someone you love depends on Medicare, I urge you to learn about the new choices you have, so you can make a decision and enroll. Enrollment is entirely voluntary, and seniors who want to keep their Medicare coverage the way it is will be able to do so. But for those who want to take advantage of this new drug benefit, enrolling by May 15th will ensure you the lowest possible premiums. The sooner you enroll, the sooner you can have the peace of mind this coverage will bring.

The new prescription drug coverage will benefit people on Medicare in three important ways. First, it will help all seniors and Americans with disabilities pay for prescription drugs, no matter how they pay for their medicine now. Seniors who have no drug coverage and have average prescription drug costs will see savings of at least 50 percent. And seniors who have the highest drug costs

will receive special help. Starting in January, once a senior has spent \$3,600 in a year, Medicare will cover 95 percent of all prescription costs.

Second, this new coverage will offer more and better health care choices than ever before. That means seniors can save more and get the coverage they want, not a "one size fits all" plan that does not meet their needs. Every prescription drug plan will offer a broad choice of generic and brand-name drugs, and seniors will be able to select any Medicare prescription drug plan in their area that fits their needs and their medical history.

Third, this new prescription drug coverage will provide extra help to low-income seniors and beneficiaries with disabilities. About a third of the seniors will be eligible for a Medicare prescription drug benefit that includes little or no premiums, low deductibles, and no gaps in coverage. On average, Medicare will pick up the tab for more than 95 percent of the costs that low-income seniors pay for prescription drugs.

The days of low-income seniors having to make painful sacrifices to pay for their prescription drugs are now coming to an end. Last month, those of you on Medicare received in the mail a handbook called "Medicare and You" that includes detailed information about your options. Citizen groups and faith-based organizations across America are also working to spread the word so that Medicare recipients can get their questions answered and make informed choices.

If you have Medicare, I urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to learn more. Review your choices and make the decision that is right for you. If you have family or friends on Medicare, you can help too. Helping can be as simple as showing an older neighbor how to fill out a form or making a call for your mom or dad. You can get information 24 hours a day by calling 1-800-MEDICARE or by visiting the official Medicare web site at [medicare.gov](http://medicare.gov).

In the 21st century, preventing and treating illness often require prescription drugs. In the coming months, we will help every Medicare recipient make a confident choice about their prescription drug coverage. By expanding drug coverage for our Nation's

seniors, we will help all Americans on Medicare receive the modern health care they deserve.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7:52 a.m. on November 11 in the Cabinet Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 12. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 11 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

### **Remarks on the War on Terror in Anchorage, Alaska**

*November 14, 2005*

Thank you all. Thanks for the warm welcome. Laura and I were in the neighborhood—[*laughter*—]—thought we'd come by to say hello to the Nation's "Arctic Warriors." We're proud to stand with the courageous airmen of Elmendorf Air Force Base, the soldiers of Fort Richardson, the Coast Guard men and women here in Alaska, the men and women of the Alaskan Command, and all those who wear the uniform of our country.

The General is right about one thing—[*laughter*—]—I did live in Alaska. [*Laughter*] In 1974, and I remember it just the way it looked coming in on Air Force One, this vast, majestic land, so beautiful and full of decent, honorable, independent-minded people, people who love their country.

Here at Elmendorf Air Force Base, you're defending our Nation's frontiers. You're securing freedom for future generations of Americans. Service men and women have departed this base to help liberate Iraq and Afghanistan, assist tsunami victims in Indonesia, and help those hit by the recent earthquake in Pakistan. Your courage and commitment are saving lives every day. First thing I want to tell you is the American people are grateful for your service and so is the Commander in Chief.

I also want to thank the military families who are with us today. [*Applause*] Please be seated, unless you don't have a seat. [*Laughter*] I know that for many of you, Alaska is a long way from home, and it gets especially lonely when your loved ones are deployed

on dangerous missions in distant lands. You have built a strong and close-knit community here. You support each other, and you support your loved ones who stand in harm's way. I am proud of our men and women in the Armed Forces, and I am grateful for the military families who stand behind them.

I want to thank General Fraser and his wife, Rena. I appreciate Brigadier General Hawk Carlisle. Kind of sounds like a general, Hawk Carlisle. [*Laughter*] I appreciate Craig Christensen and Hazen Baron.

I want to thank Senator Lisa Murkowski for flying all the way from Washington today to make sure she was here to see her fellow Alaskans as well as to be with the President. It means a lot to me. I don't know if you know this or not, but after this speech, she said, "Make sure you keep it short," because she's got to fly back to Washington this evening to make important votes for the people of Alaska. Lisa, thank you for your service. She's doing a fine job, and I see she brought her parents with her.

Governor and First Lady Nancy, thank you all for being here. We're proud to share the stage with you. I want to thank the Lieutenant Governor and his wife, Carolyn, for joining us. I appreciate the mayor of the City of Anchorage, Mayor Begich, and his wife, Deborah, for joining us today. I want to welcome former Governor Walter Hickel here today. He's a man who served his country and his State with dignity and class. I know we got a lot of State and statehouse folks and local folks; thank you all for being here. But most of all, thank you. Thanks for taking time out of your day to let me come by and share some thoughts with you.

In the 20th century, the men and women of Elmendorf Air Force Base and Fort Richardson stood guard on the frontlines of freedom, serving in the shadow of the Soviet Union. From here, you gave our Nation "Top Cover," standing ready to defend America at a moment's notice. And because of the courage of men and women like those who served here, the cause of liberty prevailed in the cold war, and millions who once lived in chains now live in freedom.

On September the 11th, 2001, history called on our Nation to defend freedom once again. On that morning more than 4 years

ago, Americans witnessed the violence and the hatred of a new enemy. We saw the terrorists' destructive vision for us and for all who love freedom. And in the face of this threat, our Nation has made a clear choice: We will confront this mortal danger. We will stay on the offensive. We will not wait to be attacked again, and we will press on until this war is won.

This is a vital mission for our Armed Forces, and you're helping to carry out that mission. Since September the 11th, 2001, thousands of men and women from Elmendorf, Fort Richardson, U.S. Army Alaska, and Alaska National Guard have served in Afghanistan, Iraq, and other fronts in the war on terror. The 517th Airlift Squadron has served for over a year in support of Operation Enduring Freedom. Crews from the 68th Medical Company have saved the lives of our injured and wounded in Afghanistan. The 172d Stryker Combat Team is taking the fight to the enemy with Task Force Freedom in Mosul. Soldiers of the 95th Chemical Company are in Kuwait dealing with port decontamination and hazardous material operations. And the Fourth Battalion of the 123d Aviation Regiment has been flying support missions throughout Iraq and Kuwait. From the deserts of Iraq to the mountains of Afghanistan, America's "Arctic Warriors" are leaving their mark and leaving a legacy of freedom.

Each of you is a volunteer. You stepped forward and took an oath to defend America. And every day you put on your uniforms, you reflect our Nation's highest values and our greatest hopes. Through your hard work and dedication to duty, you are sacrificing to build a better and safer world for all Americans. And as you defend our freedom, the American people stand with you.

Every man and woman who volunteers to defend our Nation deserves an unwavering commitment to the mission and a clear strategy for victory. And a clear strategy begins with a clear understanding of the enemy we face. For more than 4 years, we've seen the brutal nature of the terrorists. They've targeted the innocent in many countries, people from all walks of life. In Casablanca, they killed diners enjoying their evening meal. In Bali, they killed tourists who were on a holi-

day. In Beslan, they killed Russian school children. They've murdered workers in Riyadh, commuters in Madrid, and hotel guests in Jakarta, and guests at a wedding celebration in Amman, Jordan. They kill Iraqi children in Baghdad.

The tragic images of innocent victims can make it seem like these terrorist attacks are random and isolated acts of madness. While these killers choose their victims indiscriminately, their attacks flow from an ideology and a terrifying vision for the world. Their acts are evil, but they're not insane. Some call this evil Islamic radicalism; others, militant jihadism; still others, Islamo-fascism. Whatever we choose to call this enemy, we must recognize that this ideology is very different from the tenets of the great religion of Islam. This form of radicalism exploits Islam to serve a violent, political vision: The establishment by terrorism, subversion, and insurgency of a totalitarian empire that denies all political and religious freedom.

We know this vision of the radicals because they openly state it. They put it in videos and audiotapes and letters and declarations and on web sites. These extremists want to end American and Western influence in the broader Middle East, because we stand for democracy and peace and stand in the way of their ambitions.

The tactics of Al Qaida and other Islamic extremists have been consistent for a quarter century: They hit us, and they expect us to run. The terrorists witnessed our response after the attacks on American troops in Beirut in 1983 and in Mogadishu in 1993, and they concluded that America can be made to run again, only this time on a larger scale, with greater consequences. The terrorists are mistaken. America will never run. We will stand; we will fight; and we will win the war on terror.

The terrorists want to use the vacuum that would be created by an American retreat to gain control of a country, to build a base from which to launch attacks and conduct their war against America and nonradical Muslim governments. That's what they tell us. That's their stated goal. Over the past few decades, radicals have specifically targeted Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and Jordan for potential takeover. And for a time, they

achieved their goal in Afghanistan, until they came face to face with the men and women of the United States Armed Forces.

In Afghanistan, we put the terrorists on the run. We routed them, and now they've set their sights on another country. They're trying to turn Iraq into what Afghanistan was under the Taliban, a terrorist sanctuary from which they can plan and launch attacks against our people. The terrorists regard Iraq as the central front in their war against humanity, and we must recognize Iraq as the central front in the war on terror.

These militants believe that controlling one country will rally the Muslim masses, enabling them to overthrow moderate governments in the region and establish a radical Islamic empire that reaches from Indonesia to Spain. If they are not stopped, the terrorists will be able to advance their agenda to develop weapons of mass destruction, to destroy Israel, to intimidate Europe, to break our will, and blackmail our Government into isolation. I make you this solemn commitment: That's not going to happen so long as I'm the President of the United States.

Some might be tempted to dismiss the terrorist goals as fanatical or extreme. They are fanatical and extreme, but we cannot afford to dismiss them. Evil men, obsessed with ambition and unburdened by conscience, must be taken very seriously. Against such an enemy, there is only one effective response: We will never back down; we will never give in; and we will never accept anything less than complete victory.

We didn't ask for this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence and with a comprehensive strategy to win this war.

First, we are determined to prevent attacks by terrorist networks, by protecting the homeland and working with our allies to destroy the terrorist networks and incapacitate their leadership. Together with our coalition partners, we've disrupted a number of serious Al Qaida terrorist plots since September the 11th, including several plots here on the homeland. Our coalition against terror has stayed on the offensive. We have killed or captured nearly all those directly responsible for the September the 11th attacks. We have killed or captured several of bin Laden's most

senior deputies, including that—the man who planned the U.S.—the bombing of the U.S.S. *Cole*. We've killed or captured Al Qaida and—and managers—Al Qaida managers and operatives in countries all around the world. We will stay on the hunt. We will keep the pressure on these people. We will not relent until the terror networks that threaten us are exposed and broken and their leaders are held to account for their murder.

Second, we are determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and to their terrorist allies who would use them without hesitation. Working with Great Britain and Pakistan and other nations, we exposed and disrupted a major black-market operation in nuclear technology led by A.Q. Khan. Libya has abandoned its chemical and nuclear weapons programs as well as its long-range ballistic missiles. And in the last year, America and our partners in the Proliferation Security Initiative have stopped more than a dozen shipments of suspect weapons technology, including equipment for Iran's ballistic missile program. We're going to continue to deny the world's most dangerous men the world's most dangerous weapons.

Third, we're determined to deny radical groups the support and sanctuary of outlaw regimes. So I've laid out a clear doctrine: The United States makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror and those who support and harbor the terrorists, because they're equally guilty of murder. Any government that chooses to be an ally of terror has also chosen to be an enemy of civilization, and the civilized world will hold those regimes to account.

Fourth, we're determined to deny the militants control of any nation which they would use as a home base and a launching pad for terror. This mission has brought new and urgent responsibilities to all who wear the uniform. American troops are fighting beside our Afghan partners against the remnants of the Taliban and their Al Qaida allies. And you're fighting alongside courageous Iraqis against the remnants of a regime and a network of terrorists who want to stop the advance of a free Iraq. Our goal is to defeat the terrorists and their allies in the heart of their power, so we will defeat the enemy in Iraq.

As we pursue the terrorists, we have a strategy to go forward. Our military is helping to train Iraqi security forces so they can defend their people and take the fight to the enemy. And we're making steady progress. With every passing month, more and more Iraqi forces are standing up, and the Iraqi military is gaining new capabilities and new confidence. At the time of our Fallujah operations just a year ago, there were only a few Iraqi army battalions in combat. Today, there are nearly 90 Iraqi army battalions fighting the terrorists alongside our forces. American and Iraqi troops are conducting major assaults to clear out enemy fighters in Baghdad and other parts of Iraq. Iraqi police and security forces are helping clear the terrorists from their strongholds, hold on to the areas we've cleared, and prevent the enemy from returning.

Our strategy can be summed up this way: As the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down. And when our commanders on the ground tell me that the Iraqi forces can defend their freedom, our troops will come home with the honor they have earned.

And the second part of our strategy is a political strategy. Iraqis are making inspiring progress toward building a democracy. A month ago, millions of Iraqis turned out to vote for a constitution that guarantees fundamental freedoms and lays the foundation for a lasting democracy. In a few weeks, Iraqis will vote again, to choose a fully constitutional government to lead them for the next 4 years. This country is making amazing progress from the days of being under the thumb of a brutal tyrant. In 2½ years, they've gone from tyranny to an election for a transitional government, to the ratification of a constitution, to the election of a free government. It's amazing progress when you think about it.

The Iraqi people are proving their determination to build a future founded on democracy and peace. And the United States of America will help them succeed.

The fifth element of our strategy in the war on terror is to deny the militants future recruits by replacing hatred and resentment with democracy and hope across the broader Middle East. If the Middle East is left to grow in bitterness, if countries remain in mis-

ery while radicals stir the resentments of millions, then that part of the world will be a source of endless conflict and mounting danger. If the peoples of that region are permitted to choose their own destiny and advance by their own energy and participation as free men and free women, then the extremists will be marginalized, and the flow of violent radicalism to the rest of the world will slow and eventually end. History has proven that free nations are peaceful nations and that democracies do not fight their neighbors. By advancing the hope of freedom and democracy for others, we make our own freedom more secure.

The work ahead involves great risk. A time of war is a time of sacrifice, and the greatest burden falls on our military families. We've lost some of our Nation's finest men and women in the war on terror. Each of these men and women left grieving families and loved ones back home. Each loss is heart-breaking. And the best way to honor the sacrifices of our fallen troops is to complete the mission and lay the foundation of peace for generations to come.

The outcome of this war will affect every single American, and that makes it a subject of vital debate. And it's important to be clear about the facts. When our Nation was attacked on September the 11th, leaders of both political parties recognized a new reality: If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long. We had to take a hard look at every threat to America after September the 11th, and when we did, one stood apart: Saddam Hussein.

Under Saddam's dictatorship, Iraq was the only country in the world where American military pilots faced regular attack. Iraq was the only country that had used chemical weapons on its own people, invaded its neighbors, and fought a war against the United States and a great coalition. Iraq was only one of seven countries listed as a state sponsor of terror, and it was judged by intelligence agencies around the globe to possess weapons of mass destruction. After more than a decade of diplomacy, we gave Saddam Hussein a final chance to comply with the United Nations Security Council resolutions, ordering him to disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences. When he refused, we had

a choice. Do we take the word of a madman and forget the lessons of September the 11th, or do we take action to defend our country? Given that choice, I will defend America every time.

Combat forces of the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Poland, and other countries enforced the demands of the United Nations and put an end to Saddam's regime. Because we acted, the Iraqi people now live in freedom, and the people of the United States are safer.

Reasonable people can disagree about the conduct of the war, but it is irresponsible for Democrats to now claim that we misled them and the American people. Leaders in my administration and Members of the United States Congress from both political parties looked at the same intelligence on Iraq and reached the same conclusion: Saddam Hussein was a threat.

Let me give you some quotes from three senior Democrat leaders: First, and I quote, "There is unmistakable evidence that Saddam Hussein is working aggressively to develop nuclear weapons," end quote. Another senior Democrat leader said, "The war against terrorism will not be finished as long as Saddam Hussein is in power," end quote. Here's another quote from a senior Democrat leader: "Saddam Hussein, in effect, has thumbed his nose at the world community, and I think the President is approaching this in the right fashion," end quote.

They spoke the truth then, and they're speaking politics now. The truth is that investigations of intelligence on Iraq have concluded that only one person manipulated evidence and misled the world, and that person was Saddam Hussein. In early 2004, when weapons inspector David Kay testified that he had not found weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, he also testified that, quote, "Iraq was in clear material violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441. They maintained programs and activities, and they certainly had the intentions at a point to resume their programs. So there was a lot they wanted to hide because it showed what they were doing that was illegal."

Eight months later, weapons inspector Charles Duelfer issued a report that found,

quote, "Saddam Hussein so dominated the Iraqi regime that its strategic intent was his alone. He wanted to end sanctions while preserving the capability to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction when the sanctions were lifted."

Some of our elected leaders have opposed this war all along. I disagreed with them, but I respect their willingness to take a consistent stand. Yet some Democrats who voted to authorize the use of force are now rewriting the past. They are playing politics with this issue, and they are sending mixed signals to our troops and the enemy. And that's irresponsible.

As our troops fight a ruthless enemy determined to destroy our way of life, they deserve to know that their elected leaders who voted to send them into war continue to stand behind them. Our troops deserve to know that this support will remain firm when the going gets tough. And our troops deserve to know that whatever our differences in Washington, our will is strong; our Nation is united; and we will settle for nothing less than victory.

Thanks to our men and women in uniform, the Iraqi and Afghan people are building democracies, and as they do so, they inspire people across the broader Middle East. And freedom's advance has only just begun. In our lifetime, we've seen the power of freedom to conquer evil and take root in previously unfamiliar soil. Freedom is the mightiest force of history because the desire for liberty is embedded in the soul of every man, woman, and child on the face of this Earth. If we are steadfast, if we do our duty, this young century will be freedom's century, and we will have done our duty by laying the foundation of peace for generations to come.

Laura and I are honored to be here with those who wear our Nation's uniform. We're honored to be here with those who support those who wear our Nation's uniform. And we're really happy to be back in Alaska. May God bless our troops. May God bless their families, and may God continue to bless the United States of America. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:35 p.m. in Hangar One at Elmendorf Air Force Base. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gen. Douglas M. Fraser, USAF, commander, Alaskan Command, Alaskan North

American Aerospace Defense Command Region, 11th Air Force, and Joint Task Force—Alaska; Brig. Gen. Herbert J. “Hawk” Carlisle, USAF, commander, 3d Wing, Elmendorf Air Force Base; Brig. Gen. Craig N. Christensen, USA, assistant adjutant general and director, Alaska Army National Guard; Col. Hazen L. Baron, USA, chief of staff, 82d Airborne Division; Gov. Frank H. Murkowski and Lt. Gov. Loren Leman of Alaska; Mayor Mark Begich of Anchorage, AK; Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, Al Qaida’s chief of operations for the Persian Gulf; A.Q. Khan, former head of Pakistan’s nuclear program; David Kay, former CIA Special Adviser for Strategy Regarding Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction Programs; and Charles Duelfer, Special Adviser to the Director of Central Intelligence. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

### **Statement on the Doha Development Agenda**

*November 14, 2005*

Prime Minister Blair has challenged World Trade Organization members to ensure that the Doha Development Agenda fulfills its market-opening potential that would help lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. I welcome and endorse his call for action to ensure a successful outcome to the Doha round.

To achieve this ambitious agenda, all WTO members will have to do their part. To give impetus to Doha, I called for the reduction and then elimination of trade-distorting agricultural subsidies and tariffs. If the EU offers similar real cuts to agricultural subsidies and tariffs, others will also have to come forward with significant proposals to cut tariffs and reduce barriers on manufactured goods and services.

The Doha Development Agenda is vital to promoting development. Through the pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals and the G-8 agreement to cancel 100 percent of the debt of the world’s most heavily indebted nations, we have made good progress on aid and debt relief. However, trade is the engine for a sustained expansion of prosperity around the world. Through a successful Doha round, we can realize that opportunity.

### **Statement on Signing the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2006**

*November 14, 2005*

Today, I have signed into law H.R. 3057, the “Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2006.” The Act provides funds in support of United States foreign policy objectives abroad.

The Executive Branch shall construe as advisory certain provisions of the Act that purport to direct or burden the President’s constitutional authority to conduct foreign relations, either by purporting to direct the content of certain international negotiations and communications or by directing the Executive Branch to collaborate with other entities in the development of foreign policy. These provisions include sections 506(a), 514, 551, 561(a) and (d), 562, 575(a), 590(b) and 593.

The Executive Branch shall also construe certain provisions of the Act that purport to make consultation with the Congress a precondition to the execution of the law as calling for, but not mandating, such consultation, as is consistent with the Constitution’s provisions concerning the separate powers of the Congress to legislate and of the President to execute the laws. Such provisions include sections 506(e), 509(b), 512, 534(k), 543(b), 564(b), 576(c), 595, and provisions under the headings “Transition Initiatives,” USAID; “Andean Counterdrug Initiative,” Department of State; and “Debt Restructuring,” Department of the Treasury.

**George W. Bush**

The White House,  
November 14, 2005.

NOTE: H.R. 3057, approved November 14, was assigned Public Law No. 109–102.

**Message to the Congress Giving  
Notification of Intent To Enter an  
Agreement on Tariff Treatment of  
Multi-Chip Integrated Circuits**

*November 14, 2005*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Consistent with section 2103(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 2002, I am pleased to notify the Congress of my intention to enter into an agreement with the European Union, Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Taiwan on tariff treatment for multi-chip integrated circuits. Multi-chip integrated circuits are semiconductor devices used in computers, cell phones, and other high-technology products.

United States-based companies are the principal suppliers to the world of multi-chip integrated circuits. In 2004, global sales of finished multi-chip integrated circuits were estimated to be \$4.2 billion, and U.S. semiconductor companies account for roughly half of those sales.

The United States, the European Union, the Republic of Korea, and Taiwan will apply zero duties on these products as of an agreed date. The target date for entry into force of the Agreement is January 1, 2006. Japan already applies zero duties on these products and expects to ratify the Agreement formally in 2006. Further, although all major producers of multi-chip integrated circuits will be parties to the Agreement, we will seek to build on this Agreement by joining together to work in the World Trade Organization to increase the number of countries granting duty-free treatment to these products.

**George W. Bush**

The White House,  
November 14, 2005.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 16.

**Proclamation 7961—National Farm-City Week, 2005**

*November 15, 2005*

*By the President of the United States  
of America*

**A Proclamation**

Farming is America's first industry, and the success of America's farmers and ranchers is crucial to the prosperity of our country. During National Farm-City Week, we recognize the important relationship between rural and urban industries that helps keep our farmers and our Nation strong.

America's farmers and ranchers work hard, and they provide a healthy, safe, and abundant food supply for our citizens and for countless individuals abroad. In order to make their goods available to the public, they depend on partnerships with processors, transporters, marketers, distributors, and many others. These cooperative networks make up America's robust agricultural industry and account for about one-sixth of all jobs in the United States.

My Administration understands that our farm economy is a source of strength for our Nation, and we remain committed to advancing policies that will improve our country's agricultural industry. We have successfully implemented the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002, which significantly increased conservation funding and provided an important safety net for our farmers. Earlier this year, I signed the Central American-Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement, which will help ensure that free trade is fair trade and level the playing field for American products exported to Central America. To continue to open new markets for America's farmers and ranchers, we must also work for a free and fair global trading system. Through the World Trade Organization's Doha Round of trade negotiations, we are seeking to reduce and eliminate tariffs and other barriers to U.S. agricultural goods.

As we celebrate National Farm-City Week, we express appreciation for those who make a living off the land. Their hard work and dedication to maintaining strong networks between rural areas and urban communities



helps to feed, clothe, and provide energy for Americans and others around the world.

**Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush,** President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 18 through November 24, 2005, as National Farm-City Week. I encourage all Americans to join in recognizing the great accomplishments of our farmers and ranchers and the entrepreneurship and ingenuity of countless others who produce America's agricultural goods.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirtieth.

**George W. Bush**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:12 a.m., November 16, 2005]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 16, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on November 17.

### **Proclamation 7962—America Recycles Day, 2005**

*November 15, 2005*

*By the President of the United States of America*

#### **A Proclamation**

On America Recycles Day, we recognize the importance of recycling and using products made with recycled materials. Today, Americans recycle many items, including motor oil, tires, aluminum cans, plastic, glass, batteries, and building materials. These community efforts are designed to make a difference in our environment and help improve our quality of life.

The Federal Government is working to expand opportunities for recycling across our country. I recently signed into law the Energy Policy Act of 2005, which will increase the use of recycled materials in Federal construction projects. In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) operates

the Resource Conservation Challenge, a national effort to encourage manufacturers, businesses, and consumers to raise the national recycling rate to 35 percent. To help achieve this goal, the EPA launched the Plug-In To eCycling Campaign in cooperation with American businesses. This partnership helps increase awareness about the importance of reusing and safely recycling electronics and provides the public with additional opportunities to recycle.

Throughout the year, I encourage individuals, businesses, and government entities to participate in recycling programs in their communities. These efforts contribute to a culture of responsible citizenship and good stewardship of our natural heritage, and they can help ensure a cleaner, safer, and healthier environment for our children and grandchildren.

**Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush,** President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim November 15, 2005, as America Recycles Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate programs and activities.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord two thousand five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirtieth.

**George W. Bush**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:12 a.m., November 16, 2005]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 16, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on November 17.

### **The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan in Kyoto, Japan**

*November 16, 2005*

**Prime Minister Koizumi.** First, I would like to express our sincere welcome to the visit of the President and Mrs. Bush. We are very happy to have an excellent weather

today, and I'm very happy that President and Mrs. Bush enjoyed the beauty of this ancient city of Kyoto.

Before this meeting, the President and myself had the pleasure of taking a pleasant walk through Golden Pavilion Temple. This is in a wonderful environment where we can confirm the importance of our bilateral relations. We have been able to have the candid exchange of views between the two—bilateral issues, particularly the importance of our relations in the global context, in other words, from the viewpoint of the U.S.-Japan alliance in the world. That is the overriding context of our talk today.

We emphasized and confirmed the importance of closer consultation between the two. The United States remains the most indispensable ally to Japan. And if—the better our bilateral relations, the easier it would be for us to establish better relations with China and other neighboring countries and the countries of other—in the world.

There is no such thing as U.S.-Japan relationship too close. Some people maintain that maybe we would pay more attention to other issues, probably it would be better to strengthen the relationship with other countries. I do not side with such views. The U.S.-Japan relationship, the closer, more intimate it is, it is easier for us to behave and establish better relations with China, with South Korea, and other nations in Asia. This is my firm conviction on the basis of my thinking. Based upon our past, the importance of our bilateral relationships will not change. That is the basic understanding with which I had a talk with the President and in which we will seek the future direction in establishing and seeking the prosperity and stability of our nation.

At the same time, when we look at the issue such as the United Nations reform, the importance of our bilateral relationship looms even larger. We should recognize that. And we have been able to have a candid exchange. The United States expressed strong support to us becoming permanent member of the Security Council and would like to deepen our cooperation on that issue.

On the issue of terrorism, this is going to be a long-lasting, difficult path we have to follow and—in close cooperation with the

international community so that each nation will have a peaceful and stable atmosphere. In Iraq as well as in Afghanistan, the people themselves should work harder to establish themselves as a nation, and we are pledged to provide our utmost assistance for that goal.

Further, concerning the issue of realignment and transformation of the U.S. forces in Japan and the reduction of burden on the local community, and the beef issue—BSE issue—and other future-oriented issues, such as bird influenza, that is the issue which requires closer collaboration between the two. But fundamentally, the importance of our bilateral relations should be recognized. If we do that, and then I hope that we would be able to continue to act as an ally, as a partner, on its own, autonomous and independent—[inaudible]—in fulfilling the responsibility in the international community.

We were able to have very candid exchange of views, and we hope that we would like to continue to have this similar relationship of trust so that we can perform our obligations and duties jointly, collaboratively, with the United States for the benefit of the international community. That is all.

**President Bush.** Prime Minister, thank you very much for your warm hospitality. Laura and I are so honored to be here in Kyoto, as well as in this beautiful Guest House.

It's no secret in my country that you and I have got a good relationship. I value you as a close friend. I appreciate our candid discussions, just like we had today. Relationships—or the relationship between the United States and Japan is a vital relationship, and it's a very strong relationship. And a strong relationship enables us to work together to help keep the peace.

I admire the Prime Minister's political courage. I haven't had a chance to publicly congratulate him on winning his election. But he did so, and he did so in a way that confirms the great strength of democracy. He said, "I'm going to take my message to the people, and we'll let the people make the decision as to whether or not there ought to be reforms here in Japan." And as a result of your courageous decision, Mr. Prime Minister, you prevailed. And I want to congratulate you for that.

We've got a good friend in Japan when it comes to spreading democracy and freedom. I appreciate the contributions of the Japanese people in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Today I was able to tell the Prime Minister about important progress that is being made in the Middle East. The international crossing at Rafah will be opened up for the first time in a while and should be open by the 25th of November. Other crossings will be opened up as well. The seaport construction will begin. Travel between Gaza and the West Bank will take place. My point is, is that the freedom movement, the democracy movement, has got a very good chance of taking hold in the Middle East, in the Holy Land. And as it does, it is more likely that we'll be able to achieve the peace that we all want.

I also, in international affairs, made it very clear to us—the United States made it very clear to the Prime Minister that our position has not changed on a permanent seat for Japan in the United Nations Security Council. I hope I'm viewed as the kind of fellow, when I say something, I mean it. I have said that consistently, and I still mean that, Mr. Prime Minister.

We talked about North Korea, and I appreciate the Prime Minister's understanding and willingness to join with five other nations in making it clear to the leader of North Korea that in order for that nation to be accepted in the international community, that it must verifiably dismantle all nuclear weapons programs. And I want to thank you for your strong stand on that, Mr. Prime Minister. We also join you in our concern about the abductee issue in North Korea.

We talked about trade. We both agree that the Doha round must proceed. We both recognize that we've got work to do. The United States has made a very strong offer about agricultural subsidies. And again, I appreciate your understanding of this very important issue, Mr. Prime Minister.

We also talked about beef. And the Prime Minister and his Government has taken a study on the issue and has confirmed that U.S. beef would be safe. And I appreciate the fact that we're progressing on this issue.

We also talked about the need to continue to coordinate our aid, our development aid,

and we've got a mechanism to do just that. Well, Japan has been incredibly generous with taxpayers' money, the taxpayers' dollars to help those who suffer. And so has the United States. And I—the better we coordinate, the more likely it is we'll be able to work together to solve the problems we all want.

I appreciate you bringing up avian flu. One of the important topics that we'll be discussing in South Korea is the need for us to work together to detect and share information on avian flu, on a potential outbreak of avian flu. And so this is an issue of international concern, and the closer we all work together on this issue, the more likely it is we'll be able to do our job of protecting our fellow citizens against a potential pandemic.

Finally, I do want to congratulate the Prime Minister on his reforms. We're an active trading partner, bilateral trading partner with Japan, and it makes it easier to trade when the Japanese economy is growing. And we were reminiscing about my first trip to Tokyo. The newly elected President and the Prime Minister and I talked about the need to make sure our respective economies grew, and he talked about the idea of reforming the economy in order to create growth. And sure enough, it worked. The economic GDP grew at 4.5 percent annual rate in the first half of 2005, and I congratulate you on that, Mr. Prime Minister. That's good news. It's good news for the Japanese people; it's also good news for your trading partners. It's hard to trade with somebody who's broke. It's easier to trade with somebody whose economy is growing.

And so, Mr. Prime Minister, congratulations on your strong leadership. Thank you very much for your friendship. I look forward to continuing to work with you throughout my Presidency and your term as the Prime Minister.

**Prime Minister Koizumi.** We'd like to move on to the Q&A session. First of all, from the Japanese side, please. Any questions?

#### ***U.S. Forces in Japan***

**Q.** I have a question to both of you, Prime Minister Koizumi and President Bush. First of all, transformation. In your consultations,

specifically, what kind of views were exchanged? Especially with the interim report after the two-plus-two, there's already objection being raised by the local communities in Okinawa. Prime Minister, how will you be responding as they proceed to the final report? And President Bush, what are your expectations towards Japan?

**Prime Minister Koizumi.** Now, with regards to the transformation of U.S. forces in Japan, the question just raised, the Foreign Minister, the head of the National Defense Agency, as well as the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense of the United States, have been repeating various detailed discussions. And the interim report was just announced very recently. And Okinawa, where the bases are located, as well as various local communities, are objecting and rebutting.

Thinking back, if you're asked, "Are you for or against having a base," naturally, one would respond, "I am against." I think that's the gut feeling of the Japanese people. However, when we think about peace and security and safety, that is the context in which Japan can achieve economic growth. And in order to be able to benefit from safety and peace, we have to pay a certain cost. And that is what security is all about.

So that in mind, with regards to the local communities that are against the idea, we've been trying to persuade them with regards to the position we are placed in. And they are, in fact, enjoying the security being offered through the U.S.-Japan alliance, and therefore, we hope that the local communities will rethink that very hard and take up the issue of transformation very seriously in that context.

The Government of Japan will have to make great efforts towards the resolution of this issue. Now, this is an issue that may require some time, but we are hoping that the proposal set forth can be realized, and therefore, we will remain united as a government and make that the method.

**President Bush.** My attitude on the issue is that our Government negotiated in good faith with the Japanese Government and that Japan, being a democracy as it is, will work out the issues according to, you know, the

leadership of the Prime Minister and the will of the people.

**Press Secretary Scott McClellan.** Dana Bash [CNN].

### **Senate Action on Iraq**

**Q.** Thank you, sir. Sir, as you probably know, the Senate rejected earlier today measures that would have required a timetable for withdrawal in Iraq, but a Republican resolution was overwhelmingly passed that called for more information from your administration to clarify and recommend changes to U.S. policy in Iraq. So is that evidence that your party is increasingly splitting with you, sir, on Iraq? And is it an open challenge to you—is that open challenge to you embarrassing while you're traveling abroad?

**President Bush.** I, first of all, appreciated the fact that the Senate, in a bipartisan fashion, rejected an amendment that would have taken our troops out of Iraq before the mission was complete. To me that was a positive step by the United States Senate.

Secondly, the Senate did ask that we report on progress being made in Iraq, which we're more than willing to do. That's to be expected. That's what the Congress expects. They expect us to keep them abreast of a plan that is going to work. It's a plan that we have made very clear to the Senate and the House, and that is the plan that we will train Iraqis, Iraqi troops to be able to take the fight to the enemy. And as I have consistently said, as the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down.

I view this as an amendment consistent with our strategy and look forward to continue to work with the Congress. It is important that we succeed in Iraq. A democracy in Iraq will bring peace for generations to come. And we're going to. The Iraqi people want us to succeed. The only reason we won't succeed is if we lose our nerve, and the terrorists are able to drive us out of Iraq by killing innocent lives. But I view this as positive developments on the Hill.

### **Japan's Role in Iraq**

**Q.** Concerning the dispatch of self-defense forces to Iraq, the 14th of next month is the time limit of the stationing. What kind of explanation did you make to the President

about that? And how did President Bush evaluate that—appreciate Japan’s position on this? And what do you expect Japan to do further in Iraq on this issue?

**Prime Minister Koizumi.** Concerning Japan’s assistance toward Iraq, including the activities of the self-defense forces, we will want to see that Iraqi people, themselves, bring democratic and stable nation by the power of the Iraqis, themselves. And they are making the efforts toward that goal. Certainly there are political difficulties, but they are making progress.

So, against that background, as a responsible member of the international community, Japan should seriously consider what we could do to help the situation there. That has been our position, and there is no change in this—in our basic stance.

What kind of assistance we are going to make in December? First, toward the reconstruction of Iraq, what we can do—that first, we have to think about, and then multilateral forces and other nations are involved in the helping reconstruct Iraq. As a member of the international community, we have to join them. And further, on the basis of the importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance, we have to take all those things in a comprehensive manner, so that we seriously think what we could do to help the Iraq situation, and we make judgment on that basis.

**President Bush.** Obviously, the extent to which the Japanese Government wants to give reconstruction money to Iraq is up to the Japanese Government. And as to the deployment of troops, that’s up to the Government. That’s what happens in democracies—government make decisions that they’re capable of living with. And that’s what we said, “Do the best you can do. Make up your own mind. It’s your decision, not mine.”

**Press Secretary McClellan.** George Condon [Copley News Service].

### **China and Taiwan**

**Q.** Mr. President, can you elaborate on your advice to China as to how much you want them to emulate Taiwan? Specifically, do you want the People’s Republic to copy the governmental structure of Taiwan?

**President Bush.** I’m going to be giving a speech on this subject here pretty soon.

I hope you pay attention to it, George. My message to the region is, is that the region is better off as democracies spread. If you really think about this part of the world at the beginning of World War II, there was two democracies in the entire Pacific region, Australia and New Zealand. And today, there’s a variety of democracies, and this is a peaceful part of the world.

I believe that societies are—become stable and whole societies as they give people more say in the government. And so my message is universal, not necessarily trying to compare one system to another. In other words, you asked me about, should I say to China, “You’ve got to emulate Taiwan.” What I say to the Chinese, as well as others, is that a free society is in your interests. To allow people to worship freely, for example, in your society is part of a stable, mature society, and that leadership should not fear freedoms within their society.

As to the Taiwan-China issue, my message has been consistently clear, and that is, is that we support the “one China” policy, three communiques, and the Taiwan Relations Act, and neither side should unilaterally change the status quo. I will repeat that today. I will repeat it in China as well, and the reason why it’s important for this issue to be solved peacefully, for the—both sides to reconcile their differences through dialog. And I’ll continue to encourage dialog on the topic. Thank you.

**Prime Minister Koizumi.** This concludes this meeting.

NOTE: The President’s news conference began at 12:01 p.m. at the Kyoto State Guest House. In his remarks, the President referred to Chairman Kim Chong-il of North Korea; and Yutaka Inoue, former President, House of Councillors of Japan. Prime Minister Koizumi referred to Minister of Foreign Affairs Taro Aso of Japan; and Fukushima Nukaga, Director-General, Japanese Defense Agency. Prime Minister Koizumi and some reporters spoke in Japanese, and their remarks were translated by an interpreter.

### **Remarks in Kyoto, Japan**

*November 16, 2005*

*Konichiwa.* Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for your kind introduction, and thank

you for this invitation. Laura and I are pleased to be back in Japan, and we appreciate the warm welcome that we received here in Kyoto. We were so honored to stay at the Kyoto State Guest House. It's a fantastic facility. I know the folks of this community have great pride in the guest house, and you should. Kyoto served as the capital of Japan for more than 1,000 years, and it is still the cultural heart of this great nation. It's a proud city where ancient teahouses and temples keep this country's traditions alive and scientists from its universities win Nobel Prizes. Kyoto is a symbol of Japan's transformation into a nation that values its freedom and respects its traditions.

I have experienced this transformation of your country in a highly personal way. During World War II, my father and a Japanese official named Junya Koizumi were on opposite sides of a terrible war. Today, their sons serve as elected leaders of their respected nations. Prime Minister Koizumi is one of my best friends in the international community. We have met many times during my Presidency. I know the Prime Minister well. I trust his judgment. I admire his leadership, and America is proud to have him as an ally in the cause of peace and freedom.

The relationship between our countries is much bigger than the friendship between a President and a Prime Minister. It is an equal partnership based on common values, common interests, and a common commitment to freedom. Freedom has made our two democracies close allies. Freedom is the basis of our growing ties to other nations in the region. And in the 21st century, freedom is the destiny of every man, woman, and child from New Zealand to the Korean Peninsula.

Freedom is the bedrock of our foundation with Japan. At the beginning of World War II, this side of the Pacific had only two democracies, Australia and New Zealand. And at the end of World War II, some did not believe that democracy would work in your country. Fortunately, American leaders like President Harry Truman did not listen to the skeptics, and the Japanese people proved the skeptics wrong by embracing elections and democracy.

As you embraced democracy, you adapted it to your own needs and your own circumstances, so Japanese democracy is dif-

ferent from American democracy. You have a Prime Minister, not a president. Your constitution allows for a monarchy that is a source of national pride. Japan is a good example of how a free society can reflect a country's unique culture and history while guaranteeing the universal freedoms that are the foundation of all genuine democracies.

By founding the new Japan on these universal principles of freedom, you have changed the face of Asia. With every step toward freedom, your economy flourished and became a model for others. With every step toward freedom, you showed that democracy helps governments become more accountable to their citizens. And with every step toward freedom, you became a force for peace and stability in this region, a valued member of the world community, and a trusted ally of the United States.

A free Japan has transformed the lives of its citizens. The spread of freedom in Asia started in Japan more than a half century ago, and today, the Japanese people are among the freest in the world. You have a proud democracy. You enjoy a standard of living that is one of the highest in the world. By embracing political and economic liberty, you have improved the lives of all your citizens, and you have shown others that freedom is the surest path to prosperity and stability.

A free Japan has helped transform the lives of others in the region. The investment you have provided your neighbors helped jumpstart many of Asia's economies. The aid that you send helps build critical infrastructure and delivers relief to victims of earthquakes and typhoons and tsunamis. And the alliance that you have made with the United States is the pillar of stability and security for a region and a source of confidence in Asia's future.

A free Japan is helping to transform the world. Japan and the United States send more aid overseas than any other two countries in the world. Today in Afghanistan, Japanese aid is building a highway that President Karzai says is essential for the economic recovery of this newly democratic nation. In Iraq, Japan has pledged nearly \$5 billion for reconstruction, and you have sent your self-defense forces to serve the cause of freedom

in Iraq's al-Muthanna province. At the start of this young century, Japan is using its freedom to advance the cause of peace and prosperity around the world, and the world is a better place because of Japanese leadership.

Japan has also shown that once people get a taste for freedom, they want more—because the desire for freedom is written in the hearts of every man and woman on this Earth. With each new generation that grows up in freedom, the expectations of citizens rise, and the demand for accountability grows. Here in Japan, Prime Minister Koizumi has shown leadership by pushing crucial reforms to open your economy and make Japan's institutions more responsive to the needs of its people. The Prime Minister knows that nations grow in wealth and stature when they trust in the wisdom and talents of their people, and that lesson is now spreading across this great region.

Freedom is the bedrock of America's friendship with Japan, and it is the bedrock of our engagement with Asia. As a Pacific nation, America is drawn by trade and values and history to be a part of the future of this region. The extraordinary economic growth in the Pacific Rim has opened new possibilities for progress. It has raised new challenges that affect us all. These challenges include working for free and fair trade, protecting our people from new threats like pandemic flu, and ensuring that emerging economies have the supplies of energy they need to continue to grow. We have also learned that as freedom spreads throughout Asia and the world, it has deadly enemies, terrorists who despise freedom's progress and who want to stop it by killing innocent men, women, and children, and intimidating their governments. I have come to Asia to discuss these common challenges, at the bilateral level during visits with leaders like Prime Minister Koizumi and at the regional level through the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit. These issues are all vital, and by addressing them now, we will build a freer and better future for all our citizens.

Our best opportunity to spread the freedom that comes from economic prosperity is through free and fair trade. The Doha round of negotiations in the World Trade Organization gives us a chance to open up mar-

kets for goods and services and farm products all across the globe. Under Doha, every nation will gain, and the developing world stands to gain the most. The World Bank projects that the elimination of trade barriers could lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. And the greatest obstacle to a successful Doha round is the reluctance in many parts of the developed world to dismantle the tariffs and barriers and trade-distorting subsidies that isolate the world's poor from the great opportunities of this century.

My administration has offered a bold proposal for Doha that would substantially reduce agricultural tariffs and trade-distorting subsidies in a first stage and, over a period of 15 years, eliminate them altogether. Pacific Rim leaders who are concerned about the harmful effects of high tariffs and farm subsidies need to come together to move the Doha round forward on agriculture as well as on services and manufactured goods. And this year's summit in Korea gives APEC a chance to take a leadership role before next month's WTO meeting in Hong Kong.

APEC is the premier forum in the Asia-Pacific region for addressing economic growth, cooperation, trade, and investment. Its 21-member economies account for nearly half of all world trade. By using its influence to push for an ambitious result in the Doha round, APEC can help create a world trading system that is freer and fairer and helps spread prosperity and opportunity throughout the Asian-Pacific region.

As we come together to advance prosperity, we must also come together to ensure the health and safety of our citizens. As economies open up, they create new opportunities, but this openness also exposes us to new risks. In an age of international travel and commerce, new diseases can spread quickly. We saw the need for international cooperation and transparency 3 years ago, when a previously unknown virus called SARS appeared in rural China. When an infected doctor carried the virus out of China, it spread to Vietnam and to Singapore and to Canada within a month. Before long, the SARS virus had spread to nearly every continent and killed hundreds of people. By one estimate, the SARS outbreak cost the Asian-Pacific region about \$40 billion. The lesson

of this experience is clear: We all have a common interest in working together to stop outbreaks of deadly new viruses so we can save the lives of people on both sides of the Pacific.

We now face a new and potentially more deadly threat from avian flu, which has infected bird populations across Asia and elsewhere. I am glad to see that governments around the region are already taking steps to prevent avian flu from becoming a pandemic. The World Health Organization is coordinating the global response to this threat, and the way forward is through greater openness, greater transparency, and greater cooperation. At the forthcoming summit, I look forward to discussing ways to help this region prepare for and respond to the threat of a pandemic. Every nation in the world has an interest in helping to detect and contain any outbreak before it can spread. At home, my country is taking important steps so that we are prepared in the event of an outbreak. And as the nations of Asia work to prevent a pandemic and protect their people from the scourge of avian flu, America will stand by their side.

As we address these challenges to public health, we must also confront the challenge of energy security in a tight global market where demand is growing. Asian nations understand that the best way to create opportunity and alleviate poverty is through economic growth. As their economies grow, they are using more energy. Over the last 3 years, the United States has launched a series of initiatives that will help these countries meet their energy needs while easing demand on global markets, reducing pollution, and addressing the long-term challenge of climate change. These initiatives range from cleaner use of coal to ethanol and biodiesel to emission-free hydrogen vehicles to solar and wind power to clean-burning methane from mines, landfills, and farms.

This summer, we took an important step toward these goals by forming the Asian-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development. Together with Australia and China and India, Japan and South Korea, we will focus on practical ways to make the best practices and latest energy technologies available to all. And as nations across this region adapt these

practices and technologies, they will make their factories and powerplants cleaner and more efficient. I plan to use my visit to the region to build on the progress we are making. By working together, we will promote economic growth and reduce emissions and help build a better and cleaner world.

As we work together to meet these common challenges, we must continue to strengthen the ties of trust between our nations. And the best way to strengthen the ties of trust between nations is by advancing freedom within nations. Free nations are peaceful nations. Free nations do not threaten their neighbors, and free nations offer their citizens a hopeful vision for the future. By advancing the cause of liberty throughout this region, we will contribute to the prosperity of all and deliver the peace and stability that can only come with freedom.

And so the advance of freedom in Asia has been one of the greatest stories in human history, and in the young century now before us, we will add to that story. Millions in this region now live in thriving democracies. Others have just started down the road of liberty, and the few nations whose leaders have refused to take even the first steps to freedom are finding themselves out of step with their neighbors and isolated from the world. Even in these lonely places, the desire for freedom lives, and one day freedom will reach their shores as well.

Some Asian nations have already built free and open societies. And one of the most dramatic examples is the Republic of Korea, our host for the APEC Summit. Like many in this part of the world, the South Koreans were for years led by governments that closed their door to political reform but gradually opened up to the global economy. By embracing freedom in the economic realm, South Korea transformed itself into an industrial power at home and a trading partner abroad.

As South Korea began opening itself up to world markets, it found that economic freedom fed the just demands of its citizens for greater political freedom. The economic wealth that South Korea created at home helped nurture a thriving middle class that eventually demanded free elections and a



democratic government that would be accountable to the people. We admire the struggle the South Korean people made to achieve their democratic freedom and the modern nation they have built with that freedom. South Korea is now one of the world's most successful economies and one of Asia's most successful democracies. It is also showing leadership in the world by helping others who are claiming their own freedom. At this hour, Korean forces make up the third largest contingent in the Multi-National Force in Iraq, and by helping the Iraqis build a free society in the heart of the Middle East, South Korea is contributing to a more peaceful and hopeful world.

Taiwan is another society that has moved from repression to democracy as it liberalized its economy. Like South Korea, the people of Taiwan for years lived under a restrictive political state that gradually opened up its economy. And like South Korea, the opening to world markets transformed the island into one of the world's most important trading partners. And like South Korea, economic liberalization in Taiwan helped fuel its desire for individual political freedom, because men and women who are allowed to control their own wealth will eventually insist on controlling their own lives and their own future.

Like South Korea, modern Taiwan is free and democratic and prosperous. By embracing freedom at all levels, Taiwan has delivered prosperity to its people and created a free and democratic Chinese society. Our "one China" policy remains unchanged. It is based on three communiques, the Taiwan Relations Act, and our belief that there should be no unilateral attempts to change the status by either side—the status quo by either side. The United States will continue to stress the need for dialog between China and Taiwan that leads to a peaceful resolution of their differences.

Other Asian societies have taken some steps toward freedom, but they have not yet completed the journey. When my father served as the head of our Nation's diplomatic mission in Beijing 30 years ago, an isolated China was recovering from the turmoil unleashed by the Cultural Revolution. In the late 1970s, China's leaders took a hard look at their country, and they resolved to change.

They opened the door to economic development, and today the Chinese people are better fed, better housed, and enjoy better opportunities than they ever had in their history.

As China reforms its economy, its leaders are finding that once the door to freedom is opened even a crack, it can not be closed. As the people of China grow in prosperity, their demands for political freedom will grow as well. President Hu has explained to me his vision of "peaceful development," and he wants his people to be more prosperous. I have pointed out that the people of China want more freedom to express themselves, to worship without state control, to print Bibles and other sacred texts without fear of punishment. The efforts of Chinese people to—China's people to improve their society should be welcomed as part of China's development. By meeting the legitimate demands of its citizens for freedom and openness, China's leaders can help their country grow into a modern, prosperous, and confident nation.

Access to American markets has played an important role in China's economic development, and China needs to provide a level playing field for American businesses seeking access to China's market. The United States supported China's entry into the World Trade Organization because a China that abides by the same global rules as everyone else will contribute to a free and fair world trading system. When I met President Hu in New York recently, he said that China would bring more balance in our trade and protect intellectual property. I welcomed those commitments, just as I welcomed China's announcement in July that it would implement a flexible, market-based exchange system for its currency. These statements are a good beginning, but China needs to take action to ensure these goals are fully implemented. The textile agreement our two nations reached last week shows that with hard work and determination, we can come together to resolve difficult trading issues. The agreement adds certainty and predictability for businesses in both America and China. I look forward to frank discussions with President Hu at APEC and in Beijing about our need to find solutions to our trade differences with China.

China can play a positive role in the world. We welcome the important role China has assumed as host of the six-party talks aimed at bringing peace to the Korean Peninsula. We look forward to resolving our trade differences in a spirit of mutual respect and adherence to global rules and standards. And we encourage China to continue down the road of reform and openness because the freer China is at home, the greater the welcome it will receive abroad.

Unlike China, some Asian nations still have not taken even the first steps toward freedom. These regimes understand that economic liberty and political liberty go hand in hand, and they refuse to open up at all. The ruling parties in these countries have managed to hold onto power. The price of their refusal to open up is isolation, backwardness, and brutality. By closing the door to freedom, they create misery at home and sow instability abroad. These nations represent Asia's past, not its future.

We see that lack of freedom in Burma, a nation that should be one of the most prosperous and successful in Asia but is instead one of the region's poorest. Fifteen years ago, the Burmese people cast their ballots, and they chose democracy. The Government responded by jailing the leader of the pro-democracy majority. The result is that a country rich in human talent and natural resources is a place where millions struggle simply to stay alive. The abuses by the Burmese military are widespread and include rape and torture and execution and forced relocation. Forced labor, trafficking in persons, and use of child soldiers and religious discrimination are all too common. The people of Burma live in the darkness of tyranny, but the light of freedom shines in their hearts. They want their liberty, and one day, they will have it.

The United States is also concerned with the fate of freedom in Northeast Asia, where great powers have often collided in the past. The Korean Peninsula is still caught in the past. An armistice—a truce freezes the battle lines from a war that has never really come to an end. The pursuit of nuclear weapons threatens to destabilize the region. Satellite maps of North Korea show prison camps the

size of whole cities, and a country that at night is clothed almost in complete darkness.

In this new century, China, Japan, and Russia have joined with the United States and South Korea to find a way to help bring peace and freedom to this troubled peninsula. The six-party talks have produced commitments to rid the Korean Peninsula of nuclear weapons. These commitments must be implemented. That means a comprehensive diplomatic effort from all countries involved, backed by firm resolve. We will not forget the people of North Korea. The 21st century will be freedom's century for all Koreans, and one day, every citizen of that peninsula will live in dignity and freedom and prosperity at home, and in peace with their neighbors abroad.

In our lifetimes, we have already been given a glimpse of this bright future. The advance of freedom and prosperity across the Asian continent has set a hopeful example for all in the world. And though the democracies that have taken root in Asia are new, the dreams they express are ancient. Thousands of years before Thomas Jefferson or Abraham Lincoln, a Chinese poet wrote that, quote, "The people should be cherished . . . the people are the root of a country; the root firm, the country is tranquil." Today, the people of Asia have made their desire for freedom clear—and that their countries will only be tranquil when they are led by governments of, by, and for the people.

In the 21st century, freedom is an Asian value because it is a universal value. It is freedom that enables the citizens of Asia to live lives of dignity. It is freedom that has unleashed the creative talents of the Asian people. It is freedom that gives the citizens of this continent confidence in the future of peace for their children and grandchildren. And in the work that lies ahead, the people of this region can know: You have a partner in the American Government and a friend in the American people.

On behalf of my country, thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:18 p.m. at the Kyoto Kaikan. In his remarks, he referred to Yoshihisa Akiyama, chairman, Kansai Economic Federation, who introduced the President; Prime

Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan, and his father, Junya Koizumi; President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan; President Hu Jintao of China; and Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy of Burma.

**Message to the Congress  
Transmitting Proposed Legislation  
To Implement the United States-  
Bahrain Free Trade Agreement**

*November 16, 2005*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to transmit legislation and supporting documents to implement the United States-Bahrain Free Trade Agreement (the "Agreement"). This Agreement enhances our bilateral relationship with a strategic friend and ally in the Middle East region and will promote economic growth and prosperity in both nations.

In negotiating this Agreement, my Administration was guided by the objectives set out in the Trade Act of 2002. The Agreement reflects my Administration's commitment to opening markets and expanding opportunities for American workers, farmers, ranchers, and businesses. The Agreement will open Bahrain's market for U.S. manufactured goods, agricultural products, and services. As soon as it enters into force, the Agreement will eliminate tariffs on all manufactured goods that the United States sells to Bahrain and immediately remove Bahrain's import duties on over 80 percent of U.S. agricultural products. The Agreement is also one of the most comprehensive ever negotiated to reduce barriers to trade in services and will create new opportunities for U.S. services firms.

The Agreement contains procedures that will facilitate cooperation between the United States and Bahrain on environmental and labor matters. The labor chapter of the Agreement reinforces Bahrain's recent legislative actions to expand democracy and improve the protection of worker rights, including trade union rights. Provisions in the Agreement requiring effective enforcement of environmental laws will contribute to high levels of environmental protection.

The approval of this Agreement will be another significant step towards creating a Mid-

dle East Free Trade Area by 2013. This Agreement offers the United States yet another opportunity to encourage economic reform in a moderate Muslim nation as we have done through our free trade agreements with Jordan and Morocco. Leaders in Bahrain are supporting the pursuit of social and economic reforms in the region, encouraging foreign investment connected to broad-based development, and providing better protection for women and workers. It is strongly in our national interest to embrace and encourage these reforms, and passing this legislation is a crucial step toward that end.

**George W. Bush**

The White House,  
November 16, 2005.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 17.

**The President's News Conference  
With President Roh Moo-hyun of  
South Korea in Gyeongju, South  
Korea**

*November 17, 2005*

**President Roh.** Good afternoon. I just had a very constructive and meaningful meeting with President Bush. Today's meeting is my fifth meeting with President Bush. The last time was 5 months ago, in June. Since this is his first visit to Korea during my administration, it gives me particular pleasure to welcome him to Korea, along with all the people of Korea.

At this meeting, we were able to reaffirm that the Korea-U.S. alliance, based on the common values of democracy and market economy, is strong and that it is developing into a comprehensive, dynamic, and mutually beneficial alliance. We also agreed that the Korea-U.S. alliance will continue to contribute to peace and stability in the region. Furthermore, we were able to reaffirm that most of the major issues related to our alliance are progressing smoothly and that the agreed points are being implemented faithfully.

For the remaining issues, we agreed that they would be resolved in close consultation with each other, to benefit both sides, based

on mutual respect and the spirit of our alliance. President Bush and I agreed to launch a ministerial level strategic dialog to conduct indepth consultations on the future direction of our alliance and other far-ranging issues.

With regard to the North Korean nuclear issue, we reiterated that a nuclear-armed North Korea will not be tolerated and reaffirmed that the issue should be resolved through peaceful and diplomatic means. In order to implement the September 19th joint statement of the six-party talks, Korea and the U.S. agreed to work closely together. We especially felt that the second phase of the fifth round of six-party talks should be held as soon as possible in order to find a breakthrough in resolving the nuclear issue.

Furthermore, we had a sincere dialog about building a peace structure on the Korean Peninsula. Going beyond the resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue, we both felt that a strong peace structure must be in place in order not only to reduce tensions but also build permanent peace and trust in order to create a new future for the Korean Peninsula.

It gives me particular pleasure to be able to welcome President Bush to Gyeongju, the capital city of the Silla dynasty and the city more than 1,000 years old. I hope this will be an occasion for him to experience firsthand the beauty of Korea's fall weather and our beautiful culture. I also hope that Mr. and Mrs. Bush will come to better understand the history and culture of Korea. I hope you will have a wonderful visit. Thank you.

**President Bush.** Mr. President, thank you. Mr. President, thank you very much. You do have a beautiful country. And we've got a strong relationship. We've got a good personal relationship, and our countries are bound together by common values and our deep desire for freedom and peace. Thank you very much for your hospitality. Really been looking forward to my second trip to your wonderful country.

I told the President during our discussions that I felt like the ties between our two countries has never been better. In a relationship like ours, there's obviously complexities. But the important thing is to work together to solve those complexities in a spirit of friendship. And secondly, I know how important

our relationship is to help promote stability in this part of the world.

Yesterday I gave a speech in Kyoto where I, with all sincerity, praised the great progress of your country, Mr. President. You have shown how economic prosperity and political freedom go hand in hand for the good of the people. And as we helicoptered in from Busan today, it's very clear that the economic prosperity of this part of the world is very strong, and so is the political freedom.

We did have a wide-ranging discussion. We talked, of course, about the North Korean issue. We talked about the need to make sure that we continue to strategize through this—five of us who are working with North Korea to get North Korea to implement that which it said it would do, which is to verifiably get rid of its nuclear weapons and programs. It's in the world's interest that this happen. It's also in our interest that we continue to work together to solve the problem.

I see a peninsula one day that is united and at peace. And that's a vision, Mr. President, that I know you share as well. And that's a—it's the right vision. There's a real possibility that by working together, at some point in time, the peninsula will be united and at peace. And I want to appreciate that vision of yours, sir.

We also talked about our bilateral relations. Well, let me—first, I want to thank the President and the people of this wonderful country for sending more than 3,000 troops to Iraq to help that democracy flourish. And it's a—to me, it's not only a gesture of friendship, but it's a gesture of understanding that a democracy in the heart of the Middle East will help bring peace to others. And I thank you for your leadership, Mr. President, not only in—on the troops but as well as providing assistance to both Iraq and Afghanistan. We're bound by our love of freedom. And those commitments by your Government indicate how close we are in terms of promoting the values of freedom and democracy.

I also want to thank you very much for your help for the victims of Hurricane Katrina. That meant a lot to our people. It was very generous of you, Mr. President, to do just that.

We talked about our working together on—make sure that the world is a world that trades freely and fairly, that—appreciate the President's leadership at the upcoming APEC summit, where I'm hopeful that all of us will join together in promoting a successful Doha round at the WTO with the understanding it's in our nations' interests that we have free and fair trade, but it's in the interests of developing nations that there be free and fair trade. The World Bank estimated that hundreds of millions of people will be lifted out of poverty if this round goes forward. And I know you share the same concern I share about poverty in the world, Mr. President.

At some point in time, I look forward to continuing our bilateral trade relations. At the appropriate time, our Governments will come together and discuss how to further trade for the benefit of both countries.

Finally, Mr. President, I look forward to continuing to work with you to promote a foundation for peace and freedom, whether it be here on the peninsula or around this globe. And I know I've got a good partner in peace and freedom when I have discussions with you. So thanks for your hospitality. Really gracious of you to have—make time for a bilateral meeting in the midst of all your planning for the APEC summit. And Laura and I are just thrilled to be here. Thank you.

**President Roh.** Next we will have a question-and-answer session. We will take four questions in all.

#### ***Inter-Korean Summit Meeting/South Korea-U.S. Relations***

**Q.** First, I have a question to President Roh—actually, I have two questions. By holding early inter-Korean summit meeting, some people are saying that this would help to resolve the nuclear issue of North Korea. With regard to where and how the second Korean summit meeting, the Government has said that it is not an issue as to where the meeting will be held. And I would like to ask your position on that. And second, through your summit meeting today, you have said that the Korea-U.S. alliance is very strong, indeed. But some people are seeing—since your administration took office, we are seeing cracks in the alliance. I would

like to hear your opinion on this issue as well, please.

**President Roh.** Yes, thank you very much for that question. As for a second inter-Korean summit meeting, the Korean Government has always said that it is open to the possibility of a second inter-Korean summit meeting, and we wish to meet again with the leader of North Korea. But North Korea will probably have its own strategies. The North Korean nuclear issue has to be resolved, and I'm not sure whether North Korea thinks that it would be beneficial for them to meet with South Korea before or after the resolution of the North Korean nuclear issues. I think that this is probably something that North Korea will have to judge and decide. This is the status that we are at right now.

And in this situation, Korea—if we just look at the second inter-Korean summit meeting and the holding of that meeting, itself, as something that has a very important outcome, I really don't think that this will help North Korea's nuclear issue to be resolved. Of course, it's important that we meet, but what's more important is the content of the meeting, what we can agree upon and what we can resolve through an inter-Korean summit meeting. So I don't think that we should hold a summit meeting just for the sake of holding a summit meeting. We need to very sincerely consult this issue and think it over as to the content of the meeting.

And the second question was about the Korea-U.S. alliance, and I know that many people are saying many things about this alliance. I know that perspectives can differ according to the angle that they take. I'd like to ask you back a question, actually. Since the Korean war, Korea and the United States have held various talks, and we are currently in the process of handling many, many issues and resolving many issues. And I'd like to ask, when was a time where you had more issues solved and more issues discussed?

We're talking about realignment of the U.S. forces in Korea. We're talking about strategic flexibility. We're talking about deployment of Korean troops to Iraq. We're looking at the relocation of the Yongsan Garrison. Many issues are being dealt with now. These are very heavy items to be discussing in terms of my politics, and it is sometimes

a political burden for us to be discussing these issues at one time. But we are happy doing this for the past 2 or so years, and most of these issues have been resolved very well.

I'd like to ask you to think about the past administrations and think about this administration in comparison with them. We are in very smooth and open communication with the United States. And for inter-Korean relations as well, this is probably the most stable situation between the two Koreas that you have ever seen. And the Korea-U.S. dialog is going on very smoothly, and we are reaching very high-level agreements as well. And this is an interactive dialog that we are having. It's a two-way dialog where we engage in dialog very seriously and voice all of our opinions and discuss them. And I think that this is an area where we are having these open communications between Korea and the United States, and we are able to confirm this open communication in our meeting as well.

And the Korea-U.S. alliance is in a very good state, and I do believe that it will continue to become even better. And I think that our frank discussions between President Bush and myself and also among our officials as well will leave foundation for even stronger ties between Korea and the United States and the Korea-U.S. alliance to grow even further.

Next we'd like to have a United States journalist ask a question to President Bush. Please go ahead with your question.

#### **War in Iraq/Capitol Hill Politics**

**Q.** Mr. President, Vice President Cheney called it reprehensible for critics to question how you took the country to war, but Senator Hagel says it's patriotic to ask those kinds of questions. Who do you think is right?

**President Bush.** The Vice President.

**Q.** Why?

**President Bush.** Well, look, ours is a country where people ought to be able to disagree, and I expect there to be criticism. But when Democrats say that I deliberately misled the Congress and the people, that's irresponsible. They looked at the same intelligence I did, and they voted—many of them voted to support the decision I made. It's irresponsible to use politics. This is serious

business making—winning this war. But it's irresponsible to do what they've done. So I agree with the Vice President.

**Q.** [Inaudible].

**President Bush.** I think people ought to be allowed to ask questions. It is irresponsible to say that I deliberately misled the American people when it came to the very same intelligence they looked at and came to the—many of them came to the same conclusion I did. Listen, I—patriotic as heck to disagree with the President. It doesn't bother me. What bothers me is when people are irresponsibly using their positions and playing politics, and that's exactly what is taking place in America.

**President Roh.** We'd like to take another question for President Bush, please. Another question for President Bush from a U.S. journalist, please.

**President Bush.** Your name is not—

#### **North Korean Nuclear Program/Aid**

**Q.** Oh, I'm sorry.

**President Bush.** You can go ahead and grab the mike if you want to. [Laughter] But I didn't know you were called Caren [Caren Bohan, Reuters].

**Q.** I didn't hear a name.

**President Bush.** That's fine.

**Q.** Thank you, sir. The North Koreans have said they don't believe the agreement they signed in September binds them to give up nuclear weapons before they get any assistance.

**President Bush.** Before getting assistance—yes.

**Q.** Yes. Are you willing to give them assistance first?

And President Roh, your country gives a lot of assistance to North Korea already. Does that put your approach at odds with the approach of the U.S.?

**President Bush.** The issue really is the light-water reactor. Our position is, is that we'll consider the light-water reactor at the appropriate time. The appropriate time is after they have verifiably given up their nuclear weapons and/or programs.

**President Roh.** Next, from KBS. Please ask your question.

**North Korean Human Rights/Six-Party Talks**

**Q.** I have two questions to President Roh. First, with regard to human rights in North Korea, I do understand that the third committee of the United Nations will be putting the resolution on the North Korean human rights to vote. I would like to ask about reports that there are differences in opinions between you and President Bush with regard to North Korean human rights issues. I'd like to ask what was the discussion between you in tonight's—in today's meeting. And I'd also like to ask President Roh about our principles on voting in the United Nations on this resolution.

And second, in the last meeting between you and President Bush, President Bush mentioned Mr. Kim Chong-il, and it was also—some analysts also said that that summit meeting between you and President Bush helped the discussions in the six-party talks. This summit meeting between you and President Bush is being held in the recess period of the fifth six-party talks. I'd like to ask if you think that this summit meeting today—do you have any message to the six-party talks and North Korea?

**President Roh.** I see that the U.S. journalists are just asking one question to President Bush, but we're taking two questions from our journalists right now.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the human rights issue in North Korea—now, human rights is a universal value of humankind. It's something that is very valuable. And Korea has a very proactive position when it comes to human rights issues in the world. But between the two Koreas, we have very many important issues that we have to solve politically, and we always have to take into consideration the status of the relationship between the two Koreas. And that is what I have to say about the North Korean nuclear—the North Korean human rights issue.

And I do believe that during President Lincoln's term in office, people were always talking about the slavery, and President Lincoln was always attacked about not doing anything for slavery, to release the slaves. And I do understand that President Lincoln was quite slow in liberating the slaves in the United States. And this was because the

President, if he took the lead in this issue, he thought that the—America would be divided in opinion, and this would be very serious. And in reality, the Civil War did take place. And because of this issue of slaves, there was a situation where the United States was in jeopardy, and because of that, he had to go through a process to ensure that the country would stay together. President Lincoln's first priority was unity among the States of America, and in this large framework of unity, he pursued his policy to free the slaves in the United States. As a result, before the end of the Civil War in the United States, I do understand that President Lincoln was able to free all the slaves in America, and they were actually—and many people went into the army, many of the slaves, former slaves went into the army and fought for President Lincoln.

And this evaluation of President Lincoln's policies was carried out actually 11 years after President Lincoln's death by a scholar who was looking into the situation of the slaves in the United States. I think that this is quite similar to the position that we are taking when it comes to North Korean human rights issues.

And your second question—what was it again, please, after human rights?

**Q.** [Inaudible].

**President Roh.** As for the North Korean nuclear issue, President Bush and I engaged in a lengthy discussion on that issue. And the contents of the discussion were basically that we agreed on the fundamental principles when it came to the North Korean nuclear issue. And in the process of the six-party talks, how North Korea would act, the tactics of North Korea when it came to the details, we had some ideas to exchange, and because of that, the discussion of the North Korean nuclear issue was quite lengthy.

But I must say that we do not have any differing opinions on this. We are basically looking to resolve this North Korean nuclear issue, and we are exploring for ways that we can resolve this issue. We have no disagreement at all that this issue must be resolved. And in understanding the attitude of North Korea, I do believe that we were able to share a recognition on North Korea's attitude in this whole process.

And with regard to this issue, the authorities of both sides, Korea and the United States, must work closely in cooperation and consult with each other. And we agreed that we need to have—share an agreement if we want the whole process to succeed. And overall, this North Korean nuclear issue should be resolved peacefully within the framework of the six-party talks. And we were quite optimistic that it would be able to be resolved in the framework of the six-party talks.

If I just add one more point, the six-party talks, yes, definitely it is a difficult task to accomplish. But the United States, when it looks at Northeast Asia, the Korean Peninsula, the North Korean nuclear issue, it has many policies. But I do believe that these policies are some of the United States most successful policies, indeed.

And here in Korea as well, the inter-Korean relations are very stable indeed. And in the process of resolving this North Korean nuclear issue, once again I do believe that we are in close cooperation with the United States, and we have this framework of the six-party talks. And this is a framework that includes all the members of the Northeast Asian community, and we are responding to the North Korean nuclear issue together. So I think that we are holding dialog on a very stable foundation.

Of course, North Korea is not someone that we can very easily engage in discussion and dialog with. North Korea probably has its own very complex attitudes and positions, but this has always been the case with North Korea. And in our process of engaging in dialog with North Korea, I think that we have the most strategic and solid foundation of dialog that we have ever had. Therefore, once again, when it comes to the United States' Northeast Asia policies, I think that they are in a very good direction indeed. And that was what I did mention during our talks. And when I first met with President Bush, I asked him to also listen to opinions that things were going well in Northeast Asia, that things would go well in Northeast Asia as well.

Thank you very much. And this concludes today's joint press conference.

NOTE: The President's news conference began at 12:15 p.m. in the East Room at the Hotel Hyundai. President Roh referred to Chairman

Kim Chong-il of North Korea. President Roh and some reporters spoke in Korean, and their remarks were translated by an interpreter.

## **Joint Declaration on the ROK-U.S. Alliance and Peace on the Korean Peninsula**

*November 17, 2005*

President Roh Moo-hyun of the Republic of Korea (ROK) and President George W. Bush of the United States of America held a summit meeting on November 17, 2005, in Gyeongju.

President Bush expressed his deep appreciation for Korea's natural beauty and ancient culture which he was able to experience together with President Roh at Gyeongju.

The two leaders had an in-depth discussion on a wide range of issues: the alliance, the North Korean nuclear issue, inter-Korean relations and establishing a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, economic cooperation, and cooperation in regional and global issues.

Reaffirming that the alliance is strong, the two leaders concurred that the resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue is essential for establishing durable peace on the Korean peninsula.

President Roh and President Bush highlighted the contribution of the alliance to securing peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia for the past fifty years.

The two leaders expressed their satisfaction with the steady development of the ROK-U.S. relationship into a comprehensive, dynamic and mutually-beneficial alliance relationship, as agreed upon during the May 14, 2003, summit in Washington D.C.

The two leaders reviewed the successful force realignment agreements and shared the view that this realignment will further enhance the combined defense capability of the alliance. They expressed the common understanding that U.S. Forces-Korea (USFK) is essential for the peace and stability of the Peninsula and Northeast Asia.

The two leaders agreed that the alliance not only stands against threats but also for



the promotion of the common values of democracy, market economy, freedom, and human rights in Asia and around the world.

President Roh and President Bush spoke highly of the successful agreements on the relocation of USFK bases including Yong-san Garrison, and the partial reduction of USFK, which was accomplished through close ROK-U.S. consultation. Both leaders expressed satisfaction that the agreements between the two sides were being faithfully implemented.

President Bush expressed appreciation for the assistance that Korean troops are giving to a swifter establishment of peace and reconstruction in Iraq and Afghanistan and also for the contribution the Korean government has made towards strengthening the ROK-U.S. alliance through such efforts.

President Roh and President Bush agreed to launch a strategic dialogue called Strategic Consultation for Allied Partnership (SCAP) at the ministerial-level to consult on bilateral, regional and global issues of mutual interest. The two leaders agreed to have the first strategic dialogue at the beginning of 2006.

President Roh and President Bush reiterated that a nuclear-armed North Korea will not be tolerated, and reaffirmed the principles that the North Korean nuclear issue should be resolved through peaceful and diplomatic means and that North Korea should eliminate its nuclear weapons programs promptly and verifiably.

The two leaders welcomed the September 19 Joint Statement concluded during the fourth round of the Six-Party Talks as an important step towards the goal of a denuclearized North Korea.

They welcomed North Korea's commitment to abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs and reaffirmed their commitment to take measures outlined in the Joint Statement.

The two leaders looked forward to progress in the fifth round of talks, which should be dedicated to the implementation of the Joint Statement.

President Roh reaffirmed that the ROK will continue to pursue the development of inter-Korean relations in accordance with its Peace and Prosperity Policy and in harmony with progress in resolving the nuclear issue so that both are mutually reinforcing. Presi-

dent Bush expressed support for South-North reconciliation and pledged to continue close cooperation and coordination as it develops.

The two leaders shared a common understanding that the process of resolving the North Korean nuclear issue will provide an important basis to build a durable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.

The two leaders agreed that reducing the military threat on the Korean Peninsula and moving from the current armistice mechanism to a peace mechanism would contribute to full reconciliation and peaceful reunification on the Korean Peninsula.

Pursuant to the September 19th Six Party Joint Statement, the two leaders agreed that discussions on a peace regime should take place amongst directly-related parties in a forum separate from the Six-Party Talks and following progress in those Talks, and expected that the discussions on a peace regime and the Six Party Talks will be mutually reinforcing.

They agreed that these peace discussions should lead to a decreased military threat and increased confidence on the peninsula in a manner consistent with the peaceful intentions of the U.S.-ROK alliance.

The two leaders exchanged views on the situation for the people of the North and, based on a common hope for a better future, agreed to continue seeking ways to improve their condition.

The two leaders agreed to strengthen ROK-U.S. cooperation so that APEC, as a major economic forum encompassing the Asia-Pacific, can respond more effectively to important demands from the region in the future.

President Roh and President Bush agreed to closely cooperate with each other with a view to ensuring the success of the forthcoming 6th WTO Ministerial conference and the final conclusion of the WTO Doha development agenda negotiations.

The two presidents recognized that close economic ties are an important pillar of the bilateral relationship and agreed that deepening and strengthening our economic and trade cooperation will contribute to the prosperity and freedom of both nations.

President Bush announced that the U.S. will work with the ROK to develop a visa waiver program roadmap to assist Korea in meeting the requirements for membership in the program. Korea's interest in participating in the VWP reflects our strong bilateral partnership and will contribute to enhance exchanges and mutual understanding.

President Roh and President Bush agreed to make common efforts to develop a regional multilateral security dialogue and a cooperation mechanism, so as to jointly respond to regional security issues. In this regard, both leaders noted that the participants in the Six-Party Talks agreed through the Joint Statement to look for ways and means to promote security cooperation in Northeast Asia and that there was a common understanding among the participants that the Six-Party Talks could develop into such a regional multilateral security consultative mechanism once the North Korean nuclear issue is resolved.

The two leaders also agreed to continuously strengthen bilateral cooperation in the United Nations and other international organizations, including through such activities as peace-keeping operations.

The two leaders agreed to continue to cooperate in fighting the global war on terror, and dealing with various international security issues including transnational crimes.

The two leaders agreed to cooperate in arms reduction and efforts to prevent the proliferation of WMD and their means of delivery at a regional and global level.

President Roh and President Bush agreed to continue to work together towards a full partnership between allies.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

### **Joint Vision Statement on the ASEAN-U.S. Enhanced Partnership November 17, 2005**

Recalling that the significant progress made in the relations between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the United States since 1977 has contributed to the deepening of ties in all fields of cooperation, and such has been nurtured

through the annual ASEAN Post Ministerial Conference, the ASEAN-U.S. Dialogue at senior officials' level, and other fora;

Further recalling the meeting between Leaders of ASEAN Member Countries which are members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the President of the United States during the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting at Los Cabos, Mexico on 26 October 2002, and the announcement by the United States that year of the Enterprise for ASEAN Initiative (EAI) and the ASEAN Cooperation Plan (ACP) which have contributed to growing cooperation between ASEAN and the United States in numerous areas of interest;

Welcoming the continuing progress in ASEAN-U.S. Dialogue Relations recently, particularly following the meeting between the ASEAN Foreign Ministers and the Secretary of State of the United States in New York on 12 September 2005;

Sharing a common desire to live with one another and with the world at large in a just, democratic, and harmonious environment, and in this context, recognizing that equitable, democratic, and caring societies are the foundation for durable peace, stability, and shared prosperity;

Expressing the need to work closely to help alleviate poverty and address development gaps in ASEAN, through sustained economic growth and enhanced economic interaction and links between ASEAN and the United States, and joint efforts in nurturing human, cultural, and natural resources for sustainable development, and to further build on the existing friendship, goodwill, understanding, and people-to-people linkages between ASEAN and the United States;

Reaffirming support for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations (UN) and other universally recognized principles of international law;

Expressing a common interest in the development of ASEAN as a regional institution that will effectively contribute to peace, prosperity, and stability in Southeast Asia and the world, and recognizing the important contribution of the United States to maintaining peace and stability and to promoting prosperity;

Sharing a great interest in the success of ASEAN's efforts in pursuing comprehensive integration towards the realization of an open and outward-looking, dynamic and resilient ASEAN Community by 2020 and a Southeast Asia bonded together in partnership as a community of caring societies, as envisioned in the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II;

Expressing desire to further increase cooperation and friendship between ASEAN and the United States to seize the opportunities and meet the challenges of an increasingly interdependent world.

***ASEAN and the United States hereby:***

1. Agree to launch an ASEAN-United States Enhanced Partnership that is comprehensive, action-oriented, and forward-looking, and comprising political and security cooperation, economic cooperation, and social and development cooperation including, but not limited to, the following elements:

***Political and Security Cooperation***

2. Support the integration of ASEAN, leading to an ASEAN Community through, inter alia, the implementation of the Vietnamese Action Programme (VAP) and appropriate successor plans;

3. Acknowledge that the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) acts as a code of conduct governing inter-State relations in the region for the promotion of peace and stability, and its role as a unifying concept for ASEAN, and respect the spirit and principles of the TAC, in line with the commitment of ASEAN and the United States to enhance their partnership;

4. Support the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) as the premier regional political and security forum in the Asia-Pacific region with ASEAN as the driving force;

5. Recognize the importance of non-proliferation in all aspects of nuclear weapons in Southeast Asia;

6. Promote closer cooperation on combating transnational crimes, including inter alia, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, illicit drug trafficking, trafficking in persons, and enhancing maritime and border security, and express readiness to build on the ASEAN-United States Joint

Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism signed in Bandar Seri Begawan in 2002 to develop joint activities;

7. Cooperate in multilateral frameworks, including the UN, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the APEC, emphasize the importance of ambitious outcomes in the Doha Round that would bring tangible benefits to all, support the early accession of Laos and Viet Nam to the WTO, and consider the admission of ASEAN Member Countries that are not members of APEC into that forum;

***Economic Cooperation***

8. Strengthen economic cooperation by, inter alia, continuing to implement the EAI, which serves as a mechanism to enhance trade and investment flows between ASEAN and the United States, and in this regard, agree to work together to conclude a region-wide ASEAN-United States Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA);

9. Further enhance economic linkages, which will assist in sustaining economic growth in ASEAN and the U.S., and cooperate jointly in support of ASEAN's realization of an ASEAN Economic Community by 2020, if not earlier;

10. Enhance economic cooperation in areas to be mutually agreed upon between ASEAN and the U.S., including but not limited to trade and investment facilitation; and undertake missions and measures to strengthen the investment climate in ASEAN thereby encouraging U.S. investment into the region;

11. Collaborate to reform and strengthen international financial institutions in the areas of economic surveillance through the sharing of macroeconomic and financial information where disclosure of information is permitted by domestic laws and regulations of the respective countries, and agree to work more closely in international financial institutions to promote the influence of Asia to a level more commensurate with its economic weight;

12. Promote greater interaction between their respective private sectors, recognizing the pivotal role of the business community;

13. Pursue the development and deployment of cleaner, more efficient energy technologies of all kinds, including renewable and other low-emitting sources of energy, enhance ASEAN's regional energy infrastructure, promote energy security, promote the protection of the environment and the sustainability of natural resources, recognizing that economic growth is a necessary condition for deploying the cleaner technologies needed for continued environmental improvement, and pledge further collaboration in all modes of transport, including air maritime and multimodal transport to facilitate the movement of peoples and goods;

#### **Social and Development Cooperation**

14. Collaborate in the implementation of the Vientiane Action Programme (VAP) and its successor programmes or plans so that ASEAN may accelerate its regional integration, recognizing the importance of the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) and other sub-regional growth areas which would bridge the development gaps within ASEAN, and stress the importance of cooperation to promote sustainable development;

15. Cooperate at the regional and global levels on disaster management, including the development of regional and global standby arrangements for disaster management and emergency response, and in this connection, welcome the ASEAN Standby Arrangements for Disaster Relief and Emergency Response;

16. Resolve to work together to prevent the spread and reduce the harm of HIV/AIDS, SARS, other infectious diseases and, on an urgent basis, develop mechanisms for cooperation to contain outbreaks of avian influenza as well as pledge cooperation to put in place systems and procedures to control infectious diseases including animal diseases;

17. Foster and deepen cooperation in science and technology, and information and communications technology and encourage people-to-people interactions and exchanges as well as inter-faith dialogues, and promote cooperation through networking activities and capacity building in education such as student exchange, fellowship programme, academic attachment and research collaboration, as well as promotion of ASEAN studies

in the U.S. and U.S. studies in ASEAN Member Countries;

18. Welcome the intention of the U.S. to foster educational exchanges and the continuing efforts of the U.S. to strengthen its engagement with the ASEAN Secretariat and support the capacity building of the Secretariat;

#### **Follow-Up**

19. Call on the ASEAN Foreign Ministers and the U.S. Secretary of State, with the assistance of the senior officials, to develop a Plan of Action to implement the ASEAN-United States Enhanced Partnership;

20. Call on the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM) and the United States Trade Representative (USTR) to meet and contribute to the implementation of the ASEAN-U.S. Enhanced Partnership and its Plan of Action.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

#### **Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Vladimir Putin of Russia in Busan, South Korea**

*November 18, 2005*

**President Putin.** Distinguished Mr. President, allow me to cordially welcome you and your colleagues. And I get impression that with some of your colleagues, I never said goodbye. [Laughter] And it is very pleasant indeed, that these colleagues, we've virtually had permanent contacts on almost all bilateral and international issues.

And I'm especially pleased to have this meeting with you here in South Korea. You stayed here for quite a while, and probably will tell me of your impressions.

**President Bush.** Well, thanks, Vladimir, for hosting this meeting. I always enjoy a chance to have a good discussion with you. You're right. We've got a very important relationship. We value your advice, and we value the strategic relationship we've built. So thanks—thanks again for hosting this.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:16 p.m. at the Busan Marriott. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Statement on House of Representatives Action on Legislation To Reduce Federal Spending**

*November 18, 2005*

I applaud the Republican Members of the House who passed a significant savings package that will restrain spending and keep us on track to cut the deficit in half by 2009. We will continue to fund our priorities in a fiscally responsible way and ensure that taxpayer money is spent wisely or not spent at all. I urge the House and Senate to reach agreement promptly on a spending-reduction package that I can sign into law this year.

---

### **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

---

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

---

#### **November 11**

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he traveled to Avoca, PA, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Anthony Blackwell, Sr. He then traveled to Tobyhanna, PA.

In the afternoon, at Tobyhanna Army Depot, the President met with family members of U.S. military personnel killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Later, he returned to Washington, DC. While en route aboard Air Force One, he had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister John Howard of Australia.

#### **November 12**

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing.

#### **November 14**

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he and Mrs. Bush traveled to Anchorage, AK, where, upon ar-

rival in the afternoon, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Peter Henry.

In the afternoon, at Elmendorf Air Force Base, the President met with family members of U.S. military personnel killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Later, he and Mrs. Bush traveled to Kyoto, Japan, arriving Tuesday evening.

#### **November 16**

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, at the Kinkakuji Temple of the Golden Pavilion, he and Mrs. Bush participated in a cultural event.

Later in the morning, at the Kyoto State Guest House, the President met with Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush had lunch with Prime Minister Koizumi. Later, they traveled to Busan, South Korea, arriving in the evening.

The President announced his intention to nominate Marc L. Kesselman to be General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture.

The President announced his intention to nominate Peter N. Kirsanow to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate Claudia A. McMurray to be Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs.

The President announced his intention to nominate Daniel Meron to be General Counsel of the Department of Health and Human Services.

The President announced his intention to appoint Noel Michael McKinnell as a member of the Commission of Fine Arts.

The President declared a major disaster in Kansas and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms and flooding on October 1–2.

#### **November 17**

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, he and Mrs. Bush traveled to Gyeongju, South Korea, where, at the Hotel Hyundai, he met with President Roh Moo-hyun of South Korea.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush had lunch with President Roh and his

wife, Kwon Yang-sook. Later, they toured of the Bulguksa Temple. They then returned to Busan, South Korea.

Later in the afternoon, at the Westin Chosun Hotel, the President met with Prime Minister Abdullah bin Ahmad Badawi of Malaysia.

In the evening, the President had a telephone conversation with President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan to discuss recovery efforts following the earthquake in Pakistan on October 8.

The President announced that he has nominated Richard T. Crowder to be Chief Agriculture Negotiator at the U.S. Trade Representative, with the rank of Ambassador.

The President announced his intention to nominate Michael W. Michalak to have the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as U.S. Senior Official to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum.

The President announced his intention to appoint Lorenzo Larranaga (U.S. Border State Representative) and Jacob Monty (U.S. Public Representative) as members of the Board of Directors of the Border Environment Cooperation Commission.

### **November 18**

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, at the Westin Chosun Hotel, the President met with leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). He then met with President Vicente Fox of Mexico, Prime Minister Paul Martin of Canada, and President Alejandro Toledo of Peru.

In the afternoon at the BEXCO Facility, the President participated in the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a gala dinner and cultural performance.

The President announced his intention to nominate David Longly Bernhardt to be Solicitor of the Department of the Interior.

---

## **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

---

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

---

### **Submitted November 16**

Richard T. Crowder,  
of Virginia, to be Chief Agricultural Negotiator, office of the U.S. Trade Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, vice Allen Frederick Johnson, resigned.

Marc L. Kesselman,  
of Tennessee, to be General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture, vice Nancy Southard Bryson.

Peter N. Kirsanow,  
of Ohio, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years expiring August 27, 2008, vice Ronald E. Meisburg.

Claudia A. McMurray,  
of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, vice John F. Turner, resigned.

Daniel Meron,  
of Maryland, to be General Counsel of the Department of Health and Human Services, vice Alex Azar II.

### **Submitted November 17**

Dennis Bottorff,  
of Tennessee, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for a term expiring May 18, 2011 (new position).

Robert M. Duncan,  
of Kentucky, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for a term expiring May 18, 2011 (new position).

William B. Sansom,  
of Tennessee, to be a member of the Board  
of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Author-  
ity for a term expiring May 18, 2009 (new  
position).

Howard A. Thrailkill,  
of Alabama, to be a member of the Board  
of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Author-  
ity for a term expiring May 18, 2007 (new  
position).

Susan Richardson Williams,  
of Tennessee, to be a member of the Board  
of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Author-  
ity for the term prescribed by law, vice Glenn  
L. McCullough, Jr., term expired.

#### ***Submitted November 18***

David Longly Bernhardt,  
of Colorado, to be Solicitor of the Depart-  
ment of the Interior, vice Sue Ellen  
Wooldridge.

James D. McGee,  
of Florida, a career member of the Senior  
Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor,  
to serve concurrently and without additional  
compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary  
and Plenipotentiary of the United States of  
America to the Union of Comoros.

Michael W. Michalak,  
of Michigan, a career member of the Senior  
Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor,  
for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure  
of service as U.S. Senior Official to the Asia-  
Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum.

---

#### **Checklist of White House Press Releases**

---

The following list contains releases of the Office  
of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as  
items nor covered by entries in the Digest of  
Other White House Announcements.

---

#### ***Released November 11***

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing  
that the President signed H.R. 2967, H.R.  
3765, S. 37, and S. 1285

#### ***Released November 14***

Transcript of a press briefing by National Se-  
curity Adviser Stephen J. Hadley on the  
President's visit to Asia

Advance text of the President's remarks on  
the war on terror in Anchorage, Alaska

Announcement of the recipients of the 2004  
National Medal of Science and National  
Medal of Technology

#### ***Released November 16***

Transcript of a press briefing by NSC Senior  
Director for Asian Affairs Michael Green on  
the President's bilateral with Prime Minister  
Koizumi

Transcript of a press gaggle by NSC Senior  
Director for Asian Affairs Michael Green and  
Deputy National Security Adviser for Inter-  
national Economic Affairs Faryar Shirzad

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster  
assistance to Kansas

Advance text of the President's remarks in  
Kyoto, Japan

#### ***Released November 17***

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy Na-  
tional Security Adviser for International Eco-  
nomic Affairs Faryar Shirzad and NSC Sen-  
ior Director for Asian Affairs Michael Green  
on the APEC leaders meetings and the Presi-  
dent's bilateral meetings

#### ***Released November 18***

Transcript of a press briefing by National Se-  
curity Adviser Stephen J. Hadley on APEC  
Summit meetings

Statement by the Press Secretary on the re-  
cent statement of Representative John P.  
Murtha

---

**Acts Approved  
by the President**

---

***Approved November 11***

H.R. 2967 / Public Law 109–98  
To designate the Federal building located at 333 Mt. Elliott Street in Detroit, Michigan, as the “Rosa Parks Federal Building”

H.R. 3765 / Public Law 109–99  
To extend through March 31, 2006, the authority of the Secretary of the Army to accept and expend funds contributed by non-Federal public entities and to expedite the processing of permits

S. 37 / Public Law 109–100  
To extend the special postage stamp for breast cancer research for 2 years

S. 1285 / Public Law 109–101  
To designate the Federal building located at 333 Mt. Elliott Street in Detroit, Michigan, as the “Rosa Parks Federal Building”

***Approved November 14***

H.R. 3057 / Public Law 109–102  
Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2006